Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-042
Tuesday
3 March 1992

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Yugoslavia

Bosnia-Hercegovina—TANJUG reports that the EC condemned the violence occuring in Sarajevo in connection with a referendum on the republic's future status. Serbian protests in the form of barricades around the city stranded EC French and German referendum observers according to Hamburg DPA and Paris radio. The Serbs were protesting an attack on a Serbian wedding party, where a Serb was killed and an Orthodox priest wounded.

Sarajevo railway station operations froze due to "bomb threats" and the situation remained "volatile" throughout the day. Several firefights, resulting in casualties and wounded, continued throughout the day, according to both Belgrade radio and Zagreb TV. The Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) overtook a television station in Banja Luka and is "preparing to deny hospitality to the Sarajevo television correspondents' bureau" according to TANJUG. The SDS is demanding the suspension of the republic's referendum on independence and the media's support of it.

In an expanded session of the republic's presidency, attended by Rajko Dukic, head of the crisis headquarters of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the government defended the referendum but promised to "discover" and "punish" the "culprits" involved in "yesterday's trajic incident." Agreement was reached between the Presidency and the SDS and the barricades were removed, according to Belgrade radio.

In an interview with TANJUG, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, predicted that "Northern Ireland would be like a vacation resort in comparison with Bosnia-Hercegovina" if the republic becomes independent.

Zagreb radio reports on the results of the referendum: 99 percent voted in favor of "an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Croatia—According to a TANJUG report on an interview with Belgrade's VREME, Croatian Party of Rights leader Dobrosav Paraga predicts war rather than a "political solution" in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He claims that defenses are being "massively organized" in Bosnia with "thousands of men" joining the Croatian Defense Union "which have begun to substitute Bosnia-Hercegovina's army." Paraga believes that conflict is "inevitable." The autonomy referendum this weekend in Bosnia is "only the first step" for Bosnian Croats "to vote on a union with Croatia," in Paraga's opinion.

Federal—TANJUG reports that the Yugoslav State Presidency has decided to "to terminate active military sevice" of several Yugoslav People's Army officers including: General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic, federal defense minister; Admiral Stane Brovet, deputy defense minister; General Aleksandar Spirkovski, undersecretary of the Defense Ministry; and General Zvonko Jurjevic, commander of the Yugoslav Air Force and anti-aircraft defense. Jurjevic was suspended from duty after an EC helicopter was shot down on 7 January.

Montenegro—In the Montenegro referendum this weekend held to determine whether the republic should remain in the federation or become independent, 96%of the votes were cast in support of remaining with Serbia in a "Yugoslav community," TANJUG reports.

Council of Ministers Appeals for Public Peace

AU0203222492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Council of Ministers statement issued in Tirana on 2 March]

[Text] Incidents disrupting order and the public peace and damaging state and private property have recently occurred in various towns and districts of our country. Such incidents have assumed a considerable scale in Sarande and recently in Lushnje, Pogradec, and Peqin, and have been accompanied by mass looting, destruction, and arson against shops, storehouses, enterprises, and the premises of various institutions. These acts have caused serious economic damage. For instance, goods worth tens of millions of leks have been looted and damaged in the towns of Lushnje and Pogradec alone, not to mention the damage to equipment and buildings, etc. A large quantity of stored food has also been stolen or spoiled, food that was to have been distributed in rationed quotas in March.

Such events that disturb the public peace undermine the people's guaranteed food supply and seriously damage the image of Albania's young democracy, which is especially harmful and fraught with consequences in the political climate of the electoral campaign. They upset the necessary social peace and the efforts to conduct the elections in as favorable an atmosphere as possible, as the people would wish.

The Council of Ministers has set the forces of order and the local authorities the task of taking all measures to prevent such incidents and to oppose all attempts at illegal excesses, while acting within the law. It has recommended that the justice organs should cooperate with the forces of order and the state authorities, in order to punish the culprits for such incidents quickly and severely, on the basis of the law.

The Council of Ministers appeals to the Albanian people and their civil, democratic, and patriotic consciences to in all cases dissociate themselves from the thieves, looters, and delinquent elements that under various pretexts are attempting to involve honest people, women, and children in their tricks.

The government asks all political parties, trade unions, and social and religious organizations to use their influence to prevent any repetition of such incidents. Let us unite our efforts to live through the period before the elections calmly and prudently, creating conditions for the people to freely express their own sovereign will. This will be a great contribution to stabilizing democracy in Albania, reviving the country, and bringing prosperity and calm to the lives of the Albanian people.

Republican Party Calls for Calm

AU0203212192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] A statement by the Albanian Republican Party [PR] states that last week's events in Pogradec, Lushnje, Peqin, Skrapar, Tropoje and elsewhere, as well as the attempted exodus in Durres, are evident proof that anti-democratic forces, secretly directed and appearing in unknown groups in the cities, are attempting to provoke total anarchy on the eve of the elections. Looting and arson are leading to complete economic destruction, whereas the uncontrolled use of weapons is causing widespread casualties and injuries, provoking civil war. The forces of order, with their late intervention and passive and often dubious attitudes, give free rein to the destabilization.

The PR appeals to all Albanians to realize that the fates and lives of every family and every individual and the present and future of the country are at stake. We must calmly go to the coming elections and freely vote for democracy. If this does not happen and blindness, loss of reason, and irresponsibility gain the upper hand, we will create with our own hands an irreparable catastrophe. The enemies of democracy, parasites, and those accustomed to unrestrained power want this. We must not in any way fall for their organized tricks, which aim at the proclamation of a state of emergency and cancellation of the elections.

The PR appeals once again to the president and the government to forestall and prevent every destructive act and to make the necessary efforts to avoid anarchy, otherwise they will bear a very heavy responsibility toward the people and the homeland.

National Democratic Party To Boycott Elections

AU0203212292 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] A statement by the Albanian National Democratic Party states that the party will not participate in the 22 March elections because of the nondemocratic character of the Electoral Law, whose restrictions and contradictory preliminary conditions obstruct new political parties entering the electoral campaign. This party appeals to its supporters to freely express their political conscience in the elections for the triumph of democracy.

The Albanian National Democratic Party declares that whatever the result of the elections is, the party will respect the people's will.

Ganev Sees No Danger at Kozloduy Nuclear Plant

AU0203084592 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 25 Feb 92 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev, by Aristotel Bunescu at the Bucharest Foreign Ministry on 24 February 1992: "Kozloduy—Exclusively Bulgaria's Problem; After the Recent Defect at the Nuclear Power Plant, the head of Bulgarian Diplomacy Tries To Put Our Minds at Rest"]

[Excerpt] Amid some beautiful works of art that decorate the "French Salon" of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the afternoon of 24 February, the representative of the TINERETUL LIBER newspaper asked a question of the leaders of both the Bulgarian and the Romanian diplomacies.

[Bunescu] Minister Ganev, we hail the protocol signed between the two ministries. The document also includes a paragraph about ecological issues. From this point of view, what information can you offer us on the measure of closing down the fifth generator at Kozloduy nuclear power plant, as announced this morning by Sofia radio.

[Ganev] I would like to reassure you, in case you are worried about the Kozloduy problem: It is exclusively Bulgaria's problem. We are talking about certain defects in the central mechanisms of the nuclear power plant, which, however, have nothing to do with any danger that might affect the environment. Unfortunately, these defects made us close down the fifth reactor temporarily and imposed a very severe regime, namely two hours with electric power, two hours without it. Now, people are thinking back to the previous regime that meant three hours with electric power, one hour without. In general Bulgaria's energy problem is very serious and unfortunately it cannot be solved only through cooperation with Romania. We can take and I suppose we have already started to take practical measures in order to solve those problems that concern not only Bulgaria and Romania, but refer to a broader territory, the region of the Black Sea basin. [passage omitted]

Misinformation, Conspiracy at Kozloduy Alleged

AU0303094792 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 27 Feb 92 pp 1, 2

[Lyubomir Yordanov article: "Ten Days Before the Fifth Reactor Actually Was Shut Down It Was Known That the Reactor Must Be Shut Down"]

[Text] The fifth reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant was shut down during the night of 23 February because of causes that have not been fully clarified yet.

"We doubt that precise information about what happened will be revealed," control experts at the nuclear power plant say.

The faults that were reported in the press—in the second collar [lager] of the turbine and in a part of the separator—were noted when an attempt was made to restart the reactor on the morning of 23 February. The restart was unsuccessful, and the repair began immediately. However, it is unclear why the reactor switched off at 0003 on 23 February [2203 GMT 22 February].

According to certain experts a virus was introduced into the computer system of the fifth reactor, and it destroyed the information about the fault.

Another "coincidence" evokes additional doubts about the reactor's malfunction. On the evening before the shutdown unidentified persons damaged the telephone cable that connects the nuclear power plant and the city of Kozloduy. Communications between the city and the power plant still are accompanied by difficulties. The mysterious faults at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant are being investigated by two commissions—the first is comprised of competent nuclear experts, and the second of representatives of the security services. So far none of the commissions has submitted a report.

"I cannot say whether there is a conspiracy at the nuclear power plant," Mr. Krasimir Nikolov, inspector of the Commission on the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy, commented on the events. "I am puzzled that the shutdown of the fifth reactor caught the government, mass media, and population unprepared."

According to the experts of the Commission on the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy 10 days before the fifth reactor was shut down it already was clear that the reactor must be shut down. The leadership of the nuclear power plant has not informed the government about this. If the government had been informed in advance it could start the negotiations on importing electric power from Poland and Turkey earlier, and thus avoid the crisis situation and cruel power restrictions.

Was it a deliberate act or an accident that the government was not informed about the upcoming problems at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant?

On 26 February an open letter from the Podkrepa Labor Confederation was posted at the entrance of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. It reads: "The laws and the Labor Code are violated daily at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. Abuses are committed with the purpose of enriching the former Communists."

The Podkrepa section at the power plant insists on immediately removing the leadership of Energy Production I and II and forming a governmental commission that will investigate the violations and the culprits for the lamentable situation at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant.

Havel Interviewed Prior To Moscow Visit

LD0203144592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1220 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Editorial Report] Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian at 1220 GMT on 1 March carries the 28-minute "Man in Power" program, in which CSFR President Vaclav Havel is interviewed live by Yegor Yakovlev. The location of the interview is not given. Havel speaks throughout in Czech with superimposed Russian translation.

Yakovlev begins by welcoming Havel to the program shortly before his Moscow visit and goes on to provide a short career profile of him as a legendary dissident turned politician and president. Havel then talks about his general political convictions. He says he wants to restore a market economy in Czechoslovakia, the traditional and natural type of market which used to exist before capitalism. He believes in the laws of supply and demand, he says, emphasizing that there is no alternative to this. If somebody chooses to describe this as capitalism, he says, he does not object. Havel says he also wants to address the crisis of contemporary industrial societies. Systematic prescriptions are no solution. He sees the answer in a new relationship between man and nature, which requires a revolution in thinking. Havel says he never imagined he would become president, but now that he is, he sticks by the views he held as a dissident.

Next, Havel explains his backing for a law reinstating the right of inheritance. He admits that his family used to be rich, but this was not his motivation, says. Havel says he has never wanted to be an entrepreneur and couldn't be one, adding that he did not initiate the law but he does agree with it. It is one of the fastest roads to privatization, something which the country needs, he states.

Continuing, Havel says if he gains anything from the law, he will give it away to charity. He has made enough money from his writing, which he intends to continue. A politician can tell the truth. He doesn't need to lie, he adds.

Yakovlev then asks Havel why he signed the law on screening and vetting for links with state security.

Havel replies: "I had and continue to have criticisms and objections concerning this law. I expressed them openly in my letter to the Federal Assembly. I said that this law needed to be reworked. But I would not have achieved anything by refusing to sign it. We have a fairy tale constitution. The president's signature on a law is a formality. A law does not come into force after my signature but before it, when parliament approves it. The signature symbolizes the president's obligation to carry out this law. If I did not sign it, it would merely create tension between the president and the parliament, nothing else."

He adds that the former values have all collapsed. The ex-communist countries need to develop a new scale of values. Until this happens, there will be nostalgia for the past. Things were simpler then, even for political detainees, he says, while meanwhile there is a danger of demagogy and cheap decisions and slogans. The political scene has not been stabilized and democracy is not yet strong enough, he notes.

Yakovlev next asks Havel whether present day states can be kept together by reason and persuasion.

Havel replies: "First and foremost, I have to say that I would not want to force our two peoples to live together in a single state. On the contrary, for a year now I have been campaigning for a referendum, so that citizens can express their views as to whether they wish to live apart or together. The peoples are entitled to make this decision. If they opt for a single state, it will not be under coercion. As an advocate of a single state, I can indeed adduce arguments which show why it is better to live together in a federation. But our situation is somewhat different from that of the Soviet Union. Our peoples voluntarily decided to live together and this decision was articulated by the peoples' representatives. It was not a case of one nation being incoporated into another. It was a voluntary decision. Naturally, this single state has had a complex history, but there has never been conflict between the two peoples.

"I believe that coexistence in a just, democratic federation has a future. For many reasons it is a justifiable, well-founded option for both our peoples. I sympathize with this idea and I am an advocate of it. But I am against violence. If the peoples decide to live independently, separately, they are fully entitled to do so. However, opinion polls do not bear out the proposition that they wish to live apart from one another. About 80 percent of Slovak citizens favor a single state, and even more in the case of the Czechs."

Yakovlev notes that Havel's popularity rating is still very high. Nevertheless there is increasing opposition to his policies. The parliament rejected constitutional amendments which would have increased the powers of the president and the system is beginning to turn against its creator, he says. The destiny of reformers is always a tragic one, Yakovelev suggests. Havel says tension between the president and parliament is a natural thing. It happens in many developed democracies. There is nothing unusual in this. Not all the presidential bills have been rejected and it doesn't take many votes to veto a bill. There is no united front against his proposals, so it's not a tragedy, he states.

Yakovlev thanks Havel for the interview and suggests that television has a role to play in developing international understading. He says: "The Ostankino company which I represent hopes to become an international,

cross border company based on participation in the Commonwealth of Independent States and, hopefully, the Baltic countries. Don't you think it's time for us to start thinking of some kind of information system in Eastern Europe, which would facilitate more detailed news programs and general features. Isn't the time ripe for this?"

Havel says: "I have encountered this idea several times already. If I get the opportunity, I will resolutely support it. Yes, it's a paradox that countries which shared a similar fate now know so little about each other. Anything which helps to overcome this ignorance will be beneficial. This is very important for all of us."

Slovak National Party Criticizes Treaty With FRG

LD2902221592 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 28 Feb 92

[Excerpts] A news conference held today by the Slovak National Party was attended not only by Vladimir Miskovsky, but also by Igor Uhrik, a member of the Executive Committee of the Slovak League in the United States. To begin with, Mr. Miskovsky said that the treaty drawn up in Milovy went through the Slovak National Council quietly and faded away. He also voiced his disagreement with the fact that the electoral law contains a clause that does not permit our citizens who live abroad either temporarily or permanently to vote. After the news conference ended our editor Michal Tvarozek asked Anton Hrnko and Igor Uhrik for an interview.

[Begin recording] [Tvarozek] Mr. Hrnko, although it is February can we talk about May?

[Hrnko] Certainly, I like warm months.

[Tvarozek] I actually have in mind Karl May. Have you read his books?

[Hrnko] I like his books very much.

[Tvarozek] The reason I am asking is because a few days ago you compared the Milovy treaty with President Washington's attitute toward the Indians.

[Hrnko] Well, I had in mind that a treaty was being signed that in effect did not define a community in a certain area nor its organization; that is, the Slovak Republic. A community that is not anchored to a certain specific area and that does not have its own state organization is akin to an Indian tribe.

[Tvarozek] Karl May was a German. What kind of comparison would you therefore make with regard to the treaty between CSFR and Germany of which there has been so much talk recently?

[Hrnko] I think that in this case comparisons are insufficient. Here one only needs to say that this is not a Czechoslovak-German treaty but a German-Czech treaty that has been signed at the federation level and that unequivocally ignores Slovakia and is to her detriment. [passage omitted]

[Tvarozek] In view of these objections that you and the Slovak National Party have, what kind of steps have you undertaken, Mr. Hrnko, to ensure that the German side also learns of them?

[Hrnko] We have written a letter to Chancellor Kohl and conveyed it to him via the German Consulate General. In that letter we in essense reject the preamble of the treaty, which runs counter to the historic truth and the legal state that existed between 1938 and 1945, and furthermore we also reject some articles of the treaty, not specifically but at a general level. I would characterize the essense of that letter by the following excerpt from it: It is clear that the treaty affects the interests of the Slovak Republic and its citizens. At the same time we did not have any influence on its formulation. For this reason we reserve the right to adopt our final standpoint after studying it.

This means that we reject the principle that tackles in an unbalanced way mutual state claims between Czechoslovakia and Germany. I wish to add that this is not a letter sent by the Slovak National Party. It is a letter sent by deputies and a number of parties are equally represented. [end recording]

31 T-72 Tanks Leave Szczecin Port for Syria

LD0203143992 Prague CSTK in English 1252 GMT 2 Mar 92

[By unidentified CSTK correspondent]

[Text] Warsaw March 2—Thirty-one Czechoslovak-made tanks bound for Syria left the Polish port of Szczecin Sunday aboard a Polish-registered ship. The director of the Szczecin-based Intersped Forwarding Company, Josef Zvasta, told CSTK today the shipment includes 16 T-72 tanks, which were intercepted January 29 aboard a German vessel in the Mediterranean, and 15 other tanks which arrived in Szczecin in February. Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Josef Baksay said January 31 he had approved the export of 252 tanks to Syria in view of problems linked to the conversion of arms production in Czechoslovakia, particularly that of unemployment in arms-producing factories.

Havel Recalls Prosecutor General From Office

LD0203170992 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] CSFR President Vaclav Havel recalled Czechoslovak Prosecutor General Ivan Gasparovic from his function today. As the office of the republic president said, the reason is the shortcomings in the work of the CSFR's prosecutor general's office.

Appoints Lauko as New Prosecutor

LD0303143892 Prague CSTK in English 1728 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] [Czech President Vaclav] Havel named Martin Lauko, the Slovak republic's first deputy prosecutor general, to replace Gasparovic. Born December 26, 1950, Lauko has 18 years of legal experience behind him, including two years with the Slovak prosecutor's office. From January to August 1990 he was head of the office's personnel division and was named first deputy in September of the same year. Lauko was not a member of the Communist Party, and is married with two children.

Langos Says Statement on Kavan's Innocence Invalid

AU0203155792 Prague CSTK in English 1859 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Text] Prague Feb 27 (CSTK)— The certificate issued by the Interior Ministry Monday confirming that federal parliament deputy Jan Kavan had not been registered as a former secret police (StB) agent is invalid, Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jan Langos said today. Langos told journalists that he dismissed the head of the ministry department which issued the certificate after examining the methods used by the department to make its conclusion.

In March 1991, Kavan was found by a special parliamentary commission to have been in contact with the StB during his stay in Britain. Kavan, a student activist in the late 1960's, emigrated to Britain after the 1968 Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia and did not return until after November 1989. Kavan rejected the accusations and filed a suit against the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry.

On January 26 of this year the parliamentary commission insisted that Kavan was registered as an StB agent and its statement was publicly confirmed by Langos. Langos today explained that the certificate was "mechanically" made out by the department which checks intelligence service registers. He said the situation could be cleared up if Kavan's file were made public, and added it is up to Kavan to decide whether or not to do so.

Calfa Interviewed on German Treaty, Common State

LD0203155392 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1850 GMT 29 Feb 92

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister"; Calfa speaks in Slovak—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Prime Minister, it is Friday afternoon. A short while ago, you accompanied Chancellor Kohl to the airport. Let us therefore return to the Czechoslovak-German treaty which was signed yesterday. The treaty is undoubtedly an important step forward in relations between both states. Despite this, a whole number of objections have emerged against it. I want to recall the most important one and that is that the treaty fails to resolve the burden of the past that exists between us and the Germans. I have in mind, for example, property issues and the nullification of the Munich agreement. The government has left all this for the future. How satisfied are you personally with the treaty?

[Calfa] You yourself have described the treaty as a treaty which lays the foundations for a future treaty. I believe that this is a very accurate characterization of this treaty. We have changed qualitatively. We have eliminated the barrier between ourselves. That barrier was, in fact, a barrier between two worlds. We have signed an agreement of association with the European Community. We have Germany on our western border as well as along our path to the European Community since it is part of the European Community. In other words, it is quite natural that we attempted to express all these changes in a document and formalize them in a treaty. We have succeeded in this. I believe that this is a good treaty and an excellent foundation to enable us to tell each how we are going to communicate between ourselves in all areas that come under consideration. Evidently, this is a treaty of the future.

We, of course, have a very eventful common past and after all we have a very long common past, in fact almost 1,000 years long. This is a treaty and this means that it is a consensus between two sides. I have to say that we did not avoid talking about our past, including property issues. I have to say, however, that we were unable to reach an unequivocal conclusion. The fact that we were unable to arrive at an unequivocal conclusion and that we were unsuccessful in bringing these matters to a close at this point in time does not mean that we should jeopardize matters which we can conclude and on which we can build our future. Yes, we still have our past, which is not closed, and we will have talks about it. I have no doubts, however, that we will find a solution which will satisfy both sides.

Each side views the past, especially the recent past, with somewhat different eyes, and our notion of drawing a thick line underneath it has encountered opposition not only on the German side but, I have to say, also on our side. Our people have been raising justifiable persecution claims for internment in concentration camps, for forced labor, claims for compensation for ill health and for the loss of life of close ones, and so forth. On the other hand, the German side has certain claims regarding Sudeten Germans. This is, therefore, such an enormous issue which requires a long period of time to resolve which we simply did not have at our disposal. Therefore, we faced a decision and made this particular one.

[Correspondent] You held a 20-minute confidential conversation with Chancellor Kohl yesterday. Will you reveal to us what you discussed?

[Calfa] The reason why a conversation is confidential is not to make it public and not to give it publicity. Not that we were hiding any secrets. There are matters which, while being discussed, are not ripe enough to announce to the public. In general, I want to say that Chancellor Kohl gave me a certain expose on immigration policy and the situation in general in which Germany has found itself with regard to immigration. Many foreigners enter the territory of Germany from all possible corners of the world and, of course, from Czechoslovakia as well. Therefore, our conversation concerned these issues and exchanges of views on how to proceed in this area. We shall undoubtedly have to cooperate among ourselves more closely than before. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Let us now look at the domestic political scene. On Thursday, arbitration in the Federal Assembly unfortunately failed to find a solution to the problem of how to approve the three chapters of the constitution before the elections. It seems that the Slovak opposition, in particular the Party of the Democratic Left and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia do not want the constitution to be approved before the elections. What is your view?

[Calfa] Well, I have already said several times that this effort on their part is quite obvious. However, as for the three chapters, of which I regard as most important the chapter on the Federal Assembly, few words need to be said very clearly. If the elections take part under the old constitution, because if the three chapters are not passed then the old constitution remains valid, they will in fact be elections to the old form of the Federal Assembly, the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations. If after the elections our constitution and the shape of the Federal Assembly are changed according to the scenario of the election winners, then it will probably be necessary to reelect, that is, to hold the elections once again. This, in fact, means that the political movements and parties which you mentioned earlier are leading us into a situation in which we will have to pay for the elections twice. In other words, we will throw away the taxpayers' money. In fact, these parties and movements want their political ambitions to be paid for with money which we could easily use for other purposes, and from this point of view I think that this attitude must be condemned.

[Correspondent] I would like to ask you about yet another issue. The situation in Slovakia seems a bit incomprehensible from the point of view of a Czech person: The majority of citizens favor a common state but as far as electoral intentions are concerned, the majority of citizens favor the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia whose program is unequivocally proconfederation. How would you explain this paradox?

[Calfa] This paradox is only illusory because the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia was made to believe—and our mass media played a substantional role in this—that a confederation is a common state. Every first year student at the Faculty of Law knows that a confederation is not a common state.

I feel that it is really necessary to say that an enormous amount of disinformation, various fabrications, and often even ideas which one can hardly take seriously, though they are presented seriously, concerning our general future have emerged in our mass media. In other words, this concerns not only politicians. It also involves the process of political proclamations being conveyed to our citizens by the mass media.

[Correspondent] As somebody working in the mass media, I have to object a little. These are tough words. What is your reason for saying this, do you have any reason for such a tough stance?

[Calfa] I follow the work of the mass media. It is, of course, difficult to speak about it as I would like to speak now not from the prime minister's point of view but as a consumer, a reader of dailies, as someone who watches television or listens to the radio. From this point of view, I would really assume that there is a certain intention here to destabilize the situation and evidently to portray everything differently from the reality. I do not know whether this is not even a part of the wedge [Klin] action which has been spoken about for so long. Simply, a wedge is being driven between the two nations, a wedge is being driven through the middle of the state in order to split it.

I do not derive any pleasure in saying this but I have to recall that the screening law allowed for the screening of heads of the mass media, editors in chief of newspapers and directors of the mass media, those people who participate in creating programs, who are responsible for the content of newspapers. My personal view is that we would see various surprises and, as a consumer, I would consider it right if those editors in chief were to announce on the front pages of their newspapers and on the radio and television that we can read newspapers with peace of mind because the editors working there are clean from this point of view. I think that such a statement, issued by all, would calm our situation to a major degree.

[Correspondent] This goes without saying. Thank you for the interview.

Carnogursky Examines Constitutional Issues

LD0203125392 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 28 Feb 92

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Lubomir Lindner; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Lindner] You have spent a number of hours this week in the Slovak parliamentary building where

you attended the 22d session of the Slovak National Council which discussed topical issues facing our society. Within this framework deputies presented their views on the text of the treaty drawn up in Milovy. Prime Minister, how did you perceive the attitudes adopted by deputies?

[Carnogursky] The text of the treaty drawn up in Milovy has become a kind of a catalyst for revealing the attitudes not only of deputies but also of political parties and movements and of our citizens in general to paths along which both republics and the common state should proceed in the future. The thing is that real power already rests with the republics rather than with the federation. We saw this, for example, in connection with the debate on the draft budgets for the current year. We saw this in connection with the debate on the constitutional bill which would have amended three chapters of the present constitution. It would be desirable, of course, if the constitutional arrangement of the common state reflects the real political situation and the real position of the republics in the common state. There are, in effect, two views on how to harmonize the real position of the republics with the constitutional state. According to one, there now exists an opportunity which will not return and which therefore needs to be grabbed and that opportunity lies in the fact that new states are currently emerging and these new states are being recognized by the international community. This means, therefore, that Slovakia, too, should take a decisive step now to establish its own full international legal existence and expect the outside world to accept this, and we will be able to go on.

The second view gives priority to gradual steps to achieve such a position for Slovakia. The treaty is a legal document which by its very character establishes the equality of both partners. In this case the treaty would establish a partnership between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic and from this viewpoint alone it would signify a breakthrough in the existing constitutional structure of the common state.

These two views were manifested in speeches made by deputies. I will not conceal the fact, and in effect I am reiterating this, that I am a supporter of gradual steps.

[Lindner] The Slovak National Council plenum adopted a resolution on the talks in Milovy and on the failure of the presidium to approve the text of the treaty in which it recommended another joint meeting between the presidiums of the two national parliaments where the possibility of concluding a treaty would be reconsidered. In view of the conflicting attitudes not only on the Slovak but also Czech political scene, has such a meeting any purpose?

[Carnogursky] Even if the attempt to conclude a treaty before the elections ends in failure at least attitudes of political parties and movements will be clarified and these clarified attitudes will be useful to the political representation which will come out of the elections.

[Lindner] I am asking about the purpose of such a meeting between the presidiums because the time remaining till the elections has once again grown shorter—only three months and a few days remain in effect. In this connection, the comment made by Martin Simecka in the *What the Week Has Brought* program probably already applies—people are perceiving the present as the past and they are not reflecting about what is currently taking place but are attempting to look behind the horizon of the elections. Do you also perceive the state of our society in a similar manner?

[Carnogursky] In our society, perhaps, yes, but to be truthful we are so burdened in the government by so many duties in view of the fact that we bear responsibility not only for today but also for the subsequent days that we do not have time to think only about the period after the elections because the greater part of our energy is being taken by everyday government work, by decisions about urgent problems, and by creating prerequisites for the period after the elections, although that is the second plan.

[Lindner] In the interview with the daily NARODNA OBRODA in connection with the possible continuation of the talks about the treaty after the elections, you voiced the belief that we will not arrive at a solution on the basis of tragic experiences. What fears do you hide within yourself?

[Carnogursky] If the treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic is not concluded I believe that there is a real danger that the state will break up, let us say after the elections, especially if the positions of individual parties and movements become radicalized in terms of their attitude to the common state. If the common state breaks up, however, in that case the international treaties which Czechoslovakia previously concluded and which make Czechoslovakia a part of the family of European states and a member of the United Nations would cease to operate and in that case everything that up to now has been certain would not be sufficiently certain because everyone would attempt to promote his interests. In that case we would have to rely only on ourselves because in such a situation Slovakia—and apparently this applies also to the Czech Republic—cannot reckon with any more important help from abroad. Moreover, I would not like to experience a situation in which there is ill feeling between us, Slovaks and Czechs.

[Lindner] Apparently, as far as treaties are concerned, there is truth in what Minister of International Relations Demes said, to the effect that we will easily achieve an agreement with those who live on the opposite side of the globe while it is much harder to achieve this with those who live in our neighborhood. This is confirmed, after all, by the fact that the CSFR signed a treaty with France

without long negotiations while there has been a considerable stir around the treaty with Germany which President Havel and Chancellor Kohl signed only yesterday. A treaty with Hungary is still being negotiated. How do you perceive these facts?

[Carnogursky] This is natural since every treaty is at the same time an expression of the interests of the parties to the treaty and a harmonization of interests of such contractual parties. Interests of neighbors can cross more frequently than can interests of more distant parties. It is, therefore, natural, on the whole, that treaties with more distant countries are easier to conclude since conflicts of interest do not happen there or do so to a minimal degree. In contrast, in the case of neighbours, such conflicts can arise and, therefore, it is necessary to pay greater attention to such treaties and as a result they are then more the outcome of a compromise. After all, we do not have to go too far. We see this in the fate of the treaty with the Czech Republic.

[Lindner] In this climate, when the task of establishing new constitutional relations between Czechs and Slovaks has not been accomplished one date is approaching. It is 14 March. Some political groupings intend to mark this anniversary of the emergence of the Slovak state vociferously. Stanislav Panis, a Federal Assembly deputy, addressed an invitation to British Prime Minister John Major to attend such a rally. What is your view about that day and the activity of some political groupings in connection with it?

[Carnogursky] All current Slovak endeavours to enhance the importance and position of Slovakia evolve from the current needs of Slovakia, from international law which gives nations the right to self-determination, and from the present constitutional state in our republic and in no way do they proceed from the Slovak state of the 1939-45 period. We know that the Slovak state of that period is perceived rather negatively by the international community and to proceed in the present political endeavours from 14 March 1939 is naive at best and rather damaging to current Slovak political endeavours. In my view, the invitations which Mr. Panis, a Federal Assembly deputy, sent abroad to mark 14 March reflects at best a lack of political acumen.

[Lindner] Today you met German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Mr. Prime Minister, how do you perceive Germany's task in the newly emerging geopolitical entity of Europe? Is it not wise to fear a certain egoism in the future in the form of German politicians' attitudes toward the emerging states being perceived as positive—not least because they act quickly, specifically regarding their attitude toward the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia?

[Carnogursky] At present Germany is the strongest state in Europe. Its economic power exceeds the economic power of other European states. Slovakia's relations with Germany are easier than let us say the relationship between Czechoslovakia or the Czech Republic and Germany, among other things because we are not direct neighbors. This means that there is less chance of a possible conflict between Slovakia's interests and Germany's interests than is the case with the Czech Republic or the whole of Czechoslovakia.

Our relations with Germany are good. We have developed relations both with Germany and with individual federal laender. Relations between Slovakia and Bavaria are especially good. We make use of every opportunity to improve and intensify them further.

Slovakia does not fear Germany. Equally, we do not fear any other state and we are striving to establish balanced relations with everybody. [passage omitted]

Pithart Comments on Constitutional Arrangement

AU0203085592 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 27 Feb 92 p 3

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by Jaroslav Kafka; place and date not given: "Fear of Plebiscite Elections"]

[Excerpts] [Kafka] Mr. Prime Minister, on the political scene voices were recently heard saying that as early as during the Trencianske Teplice talks, the national council chairmen should have clearly stated whether the questions regarding the constitutional arrangement are fundamental and would have an impact on the function of the state. If so, the prime ministers should have clearly stated whether they are able to reach an accord on this (otherwise it would not have been surprising if they both resigned). Allegedly, nothing like that has been said. According to some politicians, this is the beginning of a difficult campaign full of fruitless talks on the constitutional arrangement. What do you think?

[Pithart] I reject this alternative. It is not true that we failed to reach an agreement in Trencianske Teplice. [passage omitted] I am convinced that neither side has done everything possible to understand one another. [passage omitted] I would not be so narrow-minded regarding the issue of the entities who are to sign the treaty, but I would need absolute certainty that it is not an international treaty and that the status of the federation in the international law is not challenged. [passage omitted]

[Kafka] Recently, through several prominent figures, an intention was publicized to found a new party that would support the president. It should build on the past petitions demanding the referendum and endorsing Havel's proposals to the Federal Assembly. The party should allegedly fill the gaping vacuum between the Civic Movement [OH] and the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA]....

[Pithart] Some say there is no space between the OH and the ODA—I cannot confirm this. I do not see it so spatially. It seems that the ODA feels distant from the OH, so, looking at it that way, there would be some space.... I believe, however, that this party will not think

in categories like liberalism or, for instance, liberal conservatism. It will be a plebiscite party. That is precisely what I am afraid will happen. The elections are coming, and here is this newborn claiming a place. What responsibility can it assume? [passage omitted]

[Kafka] Public opinion surveys so far indicate that the Civic Democratic Party will win in the Czech Republic and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia in the Slovak Republic. Last fall you said that if this happened the situation would have no feasible solution from the point of view of maintaining a common state. Recently, however, the will for an agreement has been echoed from both sides. Have you changed your mind?

[Pithart] [passage omitted] I insist that in the long run, there is no feasible solution to this situation. However flexible and pragmatic Mr. Meciar is.... The political styles of these two parties will lead to constant conflicts. I can imagine that at this time the leaders of the two parties have an idea of very flexible politics saving the common state at least temporarily. It certainly will be temporary.

[Kafka] The public was presented a list of people who committed high treason but will not be punished at all. Their crimes fall under the statute of limitations.... Would you think it right if the Federal Assembly adopted a law condoning a retroaction?

[Pithart] [passage omitted] I do not believe that the guilt of the traitors who collaborated with a foreign power in the August occupation should be waived off by an utterance of the phrase statute of limitations. It is necessary to investigate whether this phenomenon holds against numerous circumstances. [passage omitted] The situation should not remain as it is because at every step we can see where it leads when evil is not punished, when society has no opportunity for a catharsis, a cleansing it needs so much.

Belarus Foreign Minister Kravchanka on Visit

Meets Olszewski, Skubiszewski

LD0203141992 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Talks between Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Belarussian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka lasted for 90 minutes. Both ministers expressed satisfaction with the talks which mainly concerned bilateral relations. Issues related to European cooperation will be the subject of another meeting today. Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski handed the Belarussian foreign minister a confidential draft of a treaty on good-neighborly relations and friendly cooperation which will be the subject of negotiations soon.

After visiting Minister Skubiszewski, the Bekarussian foreign minister visited Prime Minister Olszewski. Instead of the planned 15 minutes, the meeting lasted 45 minutes. After the meeting, government press spokesman Marcin Gugulski said that the economic problems being faced by Belarus were among the issues discussed. Prime Minister Olszewski said that in a way they are our common problems and they are a result of the monopolistic position of one of our neighbors. This concerns, above all, the supplies of crude oil and gas. Poland has offered to open up its ports to transit from Belarus, as well as the possibility of rail transport.

A meeting between Minister Kravchenko and President Lech Walesa is scheduled for 1300.

Diplomatic Relations Established

LD0203222692 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Mar 92

[no video available]

[Text] An agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and Belarus, and also a consular convention, have been signed by foreign ministers Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Pyotr Kravchanka. Minister Skubiszewski passed to the Belarussian minister the draft of a treaty on Polish-Belarussian cooperation. It contains decisions regarding the security of both states and also their national minorities.

[Begin recording] [Skubiszewski] There are many Poles resident in Belarus, there is a large Polish minority that can in fact only now acquire some voice. It is appropriate that the treaty include European standards in our bilateral relations, especially those of the Copenhagen document.

[Kravchanka, in Belarussian, with superimposed Polish translation] I think that Poland and Belarus have an opportunity for good economic cooperation in many fields. This cooperation could take place in special economic zones located around Grodno and Brest.

[Unidentified correspondent] Earlier, the Belarussian minister was received by President Lech Walesa. The president spoke of the necessity of a new effort in economic cooperation between Poland and its neighbors in the east.

[Walesa] We share a common fate. In connection with this, we should seek cooperation that will be more profitable than that with distant countries. Let us seek business that will help us in this great transformation.

[Correspondent] Pyotr Kravchanka was the guest of Prime Minister Jan Olszewski. The Belarussian minister suggested making the Polish Baltic ports accessible to Belarussian trade. Government press spokesman Marcin Gugulski has informed us that the prime minister has agreed to support the efforts of Belarus for association with the European organizations. [end recording]

Defense Spokesman: Kaliningrad Deployment Watched

LD0303003992 Warsaw PAP in English 1723 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 2—Combat units of the former Soviet Armed forces withdrawn from Germany and Poland are deployed in the Kaliningrad district of Russia, and from a military viewpoint such a concentration of forces near the Polish northern border can pose a potential threat to our country, a senior officer from the chancellery of the defense minister said on Monday.

"The Defense Ministry is aware of the situation and keeps a watchful eye on it," the ministry's press spokesman Col. Ryszard Jakubczak declared. Jerzy Milewski, the minister of state at the presidential chancellery reponsible for national security said that "formally, we cannot regard such a deployment as a hostile act. Russia, which is now responsible for the former Soviet Army stationed in Germany and Poland, can withdraw the units only to its own territory, and not to Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan or former Baltic republics. The only option it has is to deploy the units inside Russia or in the Kaliningrad enclave."

"We are aware of this difficulty," Milewski told PAP. "We know that Russia has a shortage of housing and jobs for the soldiers and their families." He added, however, that "any concentration of foreign troops close to our borders is unjustified. Russia says it has no hostile intentions." "Poland can treat such a deployment only as a temporary solution. We expect that in future the Kaliningrad enclave will be disarmed, possibly totally," Jerzy Milewski stressed.

Sikorski Defends Citizenship to Parliament

LD0103160192 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Feb 92

[No video available]

[Text] The joint Sejm and Senate National Defense Commissions interviewed Minister of National Defence Jan Parys in connection with the appointment of Radoslaw Sikorski to the post of deputy minister of this ministry. Sikorski has dual citizenship—Polish and British. Jan Porowicz, a POLSKA ZBROJNA journalist who was the only member of the press allowed to follow the deliberations, told us that opinion is divided. None of the motions submitted on this matter have been approved. Maciej Zalewski, chairman of the Sejm commission, will hold a routine meeting with Prime Minister Olszewski in regard to this issue.

[Begin Sikorski recording] I am a Pole from Bydgoszcz. I was born there and I went to school there. I have friends there and I have my family there. I lived abroad for a few years. Like many Poles I lived abroad for convenience. [as heard] I obtained British citizenship. It was necessary. Without it I could not have gone to Afghanistan. I could not have obtained a visa for Pakistan using my Polish passport. I do not think this makes me a worse Pole. There are precedents for this. Dmowski [right-wing politician and minister of foreign affairs in the 1920's] had a French passport, and Kosciuszko was not a Pole at all. Churchill was American. Half of the members of the Israeli cabinet have foreign passports. In the Polish Army we have 2,500 officers who have been educated in Moscow. I think that the issue of what kind of documents a person has is less important than the issue of his loyalty and whether one can count on him. I think that, with regard to me as a person, if there is any doubt here I would not have been appointed to this post. [end recording]

Mazowiecki Denies Pact With Former Communists

LD0303102892 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Mar 92

[No video available]

[Excerpts] On the first day of the Warsaw seminar on decommunization, more was said about the dangers which that slogan brings than anything else. The majority of the adherents of decommunization were not present.

According to the program of its organizer, the Stefan Batory Foundation, democratic forces agree that post-communist structures must be eliminated, but they differ radically about the pace, spheres, and ways. Professor Bronislaw Geremek warned about the political hell which could be ushered in by decommunization. The leader of the [Democratic] Union [UD] parliamentary floor group added, however, that Poland lacks a clear line of censure separating the old and new times. Liberal Janusz Lewandowski appealed for people to look to the future and not to the past. Aleksander Kwasniewski, head of the Social Democrats, proposed that the Solidarity elites following the footsteps of CSFR President Vaclav Havel admitted that we all live in this country and that we are all responsible, although communists more than others. [passage omitted]

Representatives of the Centre Alliance were there privately. Representatives of the Christian National Union [ZChN] and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] were not there.

Jaroslaw Kaczynski explained that after the recent statements by the UD on the need to form a new coalition, the presence of the center at the seminar could have suggested agreement to the creation of such a coalition with the participation of the left. According to unofficial information, the ZChN refused to take part in the discussion and the KPN was not invited.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, leader of the UD, said at the conference on decommunization, that the UD does not intend now, nor in the future, to create a pact with the Alliance of the Democratic Left, regardless of the fact that some remarks by UD members could be the basis for such an understanding.

Education Minister: Teachers Strike 'Political'

LD2902214892 Warsaw PAP in English 2150 GMT 28 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—A nationwide strike of teachers of primary and secondary schools was staged in Poland Friday [28 February], called by the National Union of Teachers (ZNP). The strike was not officially backed by the Solidarity teachers union and was termed by the education minister as an action aimed against the Solidarity government.

According to the ZNP estimates the strike was joined by some 80 per cent of schools, more that the ZNP expected. The strikers demanded immediate valorization of wages and other benefits, and adequate means to be allotted for schools from the state budget. In some schools, however, teachers limited their protest to hanging out national and Solidarity flags. In the northwest city of Szczecin the strike was supported by local Solidarity teachers union and the Solidarity 80 members.

Education minister said the strike was "certainly a political game" which was "prepared already in the time of the previous government and carried out with an iron consistency." "It was a general opposition against the Solidarity government." The idea found a favourable ground because situation in education is really bad," Stelmachowski added.

He pledged to try and help teachers to receive pay rises. However, he admitted that he had instructed school superintendents nationwide that while promoting teachers to school headmasters or headmistresses they should take into account whether the candidates were active in the strike. "I have in mind above all those who sought to disrupt school life," Stelmachowski explained.

On behalf of a group of teachers, members of parliament, deputy Wit Majewski of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) protested against calling the strike a political action.

FSO Signs Agreement With General Motors

LD2902223192 Warsaw PAP in English 1646 GMT 28 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—General Motors Europe will set up a joint venture with the FSO Warsaw auto factory that will start regular assembly of the first Opel Astras in about 18 months. Minister of Industry and Trade Andrzej Lipko, President of General Motors Europe Robert Eaton and FSO Managing Director Andrzej Tyszkiewicz signed memorandum to this effect in Warsaw Friday.

Robert Eaton said that the final capital agreement would be signed after arranging all legal formalities linked to setting up the joint venture in Poland. Opel Astras will be assembled in a hall where the Fiat 125P cars were produced not so long ago and 35,000 Opel Astras are to be assembled annually. One thousand workers are to be directly employed at the assembly. At the same time, General Motors of Europe is to technologically support the production of the Polonez car, which is to consist in replacing the hitherto out-dated engine with a new one supplied by the Opel.

The General Motors of Europe contributes a 75-million-dollar capital and the FSO production halls and the adjoining site to assembling the Opel Astras. The American capital share in the venture will amount to 70 per cent and that of the FSO to 30 per cent. In the long run, General Motors of Europe is to sign an agreement with the FSO on technical assistance to modernize the currently produced vehicles. Americans will also prepare a broad programme to develop coproduction between the FSO, its branches and national suppliers of components. It will be necessary to wait still three years for results of these plans. After this time, the value of investments made by General Motors of Europe in Poland can exceed 300 million dollars.

Eaton did not rule out that the first Opel Astras would be produced by the FSO in a year. He said also that concrete decisions to assemble other Opel models in Warsaw had not yet been made. He added that everything depended on market demand for the Opel Astras. Lipko stressed not only economic but also political aspect of the signed memorandum. The minister said that the entrance of such a big company made Poland credible in the eyes of the world.

Tyszkiewicz said that if the overall and long-range plan for cooperation of General Motors Europe with Polish automobile industry was successful, many thousands of new jobs would be created in Poland.

Robert Terentiew To Head TV Information Agency

LD0303025692 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Mar 92

[No video available]

[Text] Robert Terentiew, deputy editor of the solidarity weekly has been appointed the new director of the Television Information Agency. Janusz Zaorski, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee [radiokomitet], accepted the earlier resignation of Ryszard Grabowski, the former head of the agency.

Results of 1 March Runoff Announced

AU0203214492

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 0500 GMT on 2 March carries a 3-minute report by Bogdan Alexandru on voter turnout in Slatina and Drobeta-Turnu Severin for the runoffs held 1 March. The reporter says that "in Slatina Municipality Engineer Liviu Mircea Dan of the National Salvation Front [FSN] was elected mayor with 10,421 votes. His opponent, Engineer Gheorghe Cean of the Democratic Convention [CD], got 7,455 votes. After the balloting was completed, Judge Ion Vedere, president of the Constituency Number 1, said that there are 57,807 qualified voters and 17,876 valid votes cast.

"The runoff for mayor in Drobeta Turnu Severin, the county seat of Mehedinti County, was won by Professor Ion Moraru of the FSN, who obtained 2,400 more votes than Engineer Arion Ionascut of the CD. In yesterday's elections the turnout was one quarter of the 80,600 citizens listed on electoral forms. We remind our listeners that one week ago the 25 councillors were elected, thus allowing the municipal council to be set up in the succeeding days."

At 1100 GMT the station carries a 3-minute report by Tudor Stanciu from the Central Electoral Commission, who says that "runoff elections were held yesterday in 23 localities in nine counties and the Ilfov Agricultural Sector" and that "results have been received from 17 constituencies." He adds that "the 17 mayoral positions are distributed as follows: Seven went to the FSN in Drobeta-Turnu Severin Municipality, Mehedinti County; Slatina Municipality; the town of Scornicesti, Olt County; in Lunguletu and Visina Communes, Dimbovita County; and Ceplenita and Ilzovesti, Iasi County."

Stanciu says that "two positions went to the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR], namely in Poiana Cristei Commune, Vrancea County; and Bragadiru Commune in Ilfov Agricultural Sector. One went to the Romanian Democratic Party [PDR], namely in the town of Aninoasa in Gorj County, while the other seven went to independent candidates."

Stanciu concludes by saying that "results are still pending in six Giurgiu County communities, including Giurgiu Municipality where the runoff also was held yesterday."

At 1800 GMT the station carries an announcer-read 1-minute report on "results released by the Central Electoral Commission of the runoff held yesterday in 23 constituencies in nine counties and Ilfov Agricultural Sector." According to the announcer "the 23 positions were distributed as follows: "11 to the FSN; four to the PDAR; one to the PDR; and seven to independent candidates. FSN candidates won the mayoral elections in the county seats of Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Giurgiu, and Slatina."

Unity Needed Within Democratic Convention

AU0203103992 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Feb 92 p 1

[Anton Uncu article: "The Voters Have Made Their Choice—Changes Begin Here"]

[Text] The success of the Democratic Convention in the local elections is a certitude that we note with satisfaction because of the idea of the changes for which we have militated. However, nobody should have any illusions. This success shows first of all the electorate's dissatisfaction with the National Salvation Front's rule, the wish to carry out changes, and only in third place, trust in the representatives of the Democratic Convention [CD]. In the current political, economic, and social context, the CD is only a hope that has to become a reality. Thus, the result of the test is decisive. The electorate has voted mainly for different people. If the representatives of the CD are not going to succeed in becoming these different people and if success remains only the effect of an unfavorable situation for the Front, it can very rapidly turn into a failure of such degree that both the Front and the CD will lose and the winners will become the extremist—left-wing or right-wing—political groups, and, ultimately we are all going to lose. At the same time, it would be a serious tactical error to count on the idea that the victory of certain of the Front's representatives would necessarily be seen as a mistake in an evaluation of the electorate without any consideration of the personal merit of those who have been elected. The nationalistic diversion, fed imprudently by our neighbors, could bring about a dramatic failure of the electorate's options and it would move us away from a real democracy, instead of bringing us closer to it.

The CD has three disadvantages now that its representatives have taken over a great part of the mayoral positions, particularly in the urban area. First of all, the circumstances—that the Front can claim—under which errors were made in the beginning, does not represent a motivation for the CD, not even from the viewpoint that one learns from mistakes. The second disadvantage, and maybe the most important one, is its heterogeneous composition, which might cause conflicts of interests and a display of ambition. Ultimately, the newly elected mayors must reach first the zero quota and only afterwards can they do all that has not been done in the localities of our country since the December 1989 revolution. We must be aware of the fact that success has not really come from the credibility of the party to which the candidates belong, but mostly from their connection to the CD. The greatest danger at the moment would be the attempt to quantify the quotas with which each party that belongs to the CD has contributed to its success in the local elections. If the parties that are included in the CD let themselves be dragged into such a dispute on the basis of the balance of forces within the CD and if one party is going to display hegemonic tendencies, then it means that this CD is frail and the hope that the electorate has in it can turn into a great disappointment.

Success cannot be real except through the continuity and the consolidation of unity, the fundamental element that determined the rise of the CD in the local elections and that can ensure victory in parliamentary elections.

UDMR Senate Official Views Hungarian Issues

AU2802115392 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 25 Feb 92 p 12

[Interview with Gabor Kozsokar, vice president of the Romanian Senate, by Samu Csinta; place and date not given: "About the Demand for Colorful Unity"]

[Text] The adoption of the Romanian Constitution, which National Salvation Front [FSN] circles regard as the high point of democracy, was a huge slap in the face for every national minority in Romania. A serious debate emerged within the parliamentary group of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—in Romanian, UDMR] about whether to participate in or boycott the vote on this Constitution. Most people finally decided in favor of participation, but Senate Vice President Karoly Kiraly, the initiator of the other proposal, stuck to his original position and that meant giving up his job. Naturally, as the second largest political force in this country, the RMDSZ did not give up its right to fill one of the positions of Senate vice president, and thus Kovasna County Senator Gabor Kozsokar was elected to this position, without special counterproposals. During our interview, we were seeking an answer to the following question: How much weight does a senate vice president carry if he happens to be an ethnic Hungarian?

[Csinta] Does your appointment represent a new RMDSZ-line in the Romanian Parliament?

[Kozsokar] We continue to have the same goals, but my appointment could indeed introduce new methods into our work. My appointment is an appreciation of RMDSZ activity in parliament, because our group was perhaps the most active in preparing the various laws and participating in the debates, and the more objective part of Romanian society acknowledged this. Teamwork is taking place in the Senate and, naturally, I will try to promote this activity with my increased opportunities; in my new position, I learn about things in preparation more quickly and, consequently, we will be able to better prepare for the expected situations and debates.

[Csinta] The RMDSZ participated in the voting procedure of the new Romanian Constitution, although the idea to refrain from voting had also emerged before. In your view, which version would give the RMDSZ a better position in case of a possible request to reexamine the Constitution?

[Kozsokar] This question has been debated repeatedly. Like the majority, I personally was in favor of active participation. Only this way could we make the others see the level under which we cannot negotiate. Every debate and observation can be found in the official minutes. With this firm position, we could avoid formulations that—in our absence—could have made this constitution even more disadvantageous for us. For example, immediately before the voting on the last day of debates, a proposal was made to include an article banning all kinds of separatism. This would have made all the mother-tongue institutions vulnerable. After a tough debate, we even considered the possibility of leaving the room, and we had supporters in this.

However, the rules of the Constitution that are not supported by us are not limited to the use of one's mother tongue, and this is the main point on which we share the opinions of the opposition parties. During the implementation of these rules, others also realized how many useless points these rules contain. There is increasing criticism, and I am convinced that, together with other parties, we will continue to request the reexamination of the Constitution from the new parliament.

[Csinta] Will you request this reexamination as a single opposition bloc?

[Kozsokar] Although the principle of mutual support is not yet general here, I am sure that we will not be alone, because many parties share their interests here. Besides, the balance of power will change a lot, depending on how long the general elections are delayed. Our prime minister is in favor of holding general elections as soon as possible by declaring that the current government only promised to organize and correctly hold general elections.

[Csinta] First and foremost, you are an RMDSZ senator. By electing you to the post of Senate vice president, the Senate has placed you among Romania's highest officials. To what extent does this oblige you to "forget" your RMDSZ-senatorial presidency?

[Kozsokar] I am determined to make this change only quantitatively perceptible, namely more work and more "appearances." It is neither fortunate nor justified to separate the two functions, because the future of Hungarians in Romania can only be envisaged in a vigorous Romania with a healthy spirit, and this is what all of us are working to achieve. I will take a stand against any attempt to curtail our rights, irrespective of my position of vice president. Besides, my appointment does not imply any commitment or unprincipled loyalty to the current government. Just as until now, I will continue not to consider it my task to smooth over controversies and soften the harsh tone of our debates.

[Csinta] Essentially, the RMDSZ is an interest-representation organization that was forced to become a political party in which various political convictions naturally appear. So far, the Hungarians in Romania have only suspected the breakdown of their unity, but Karoly Kiraly's departure and the separate election list of the Csik-platform are now clear manifestations of this division. In which direction is the RMDSZ then heading?

[Kozsokar] Indeed, we are not a political party in the classic sense of the word, a party complete with a traditional strategy. Therefore, we do not force a uniform ideology upon the Hungarians in Romania, because this would mean an attempt on our part to maintain the one-party system in a developing multiparty democracy. We would like to coordinate and harmonize the activity of various parties, district organizations, and cultural institutions. This way, we could represent the interests of Hungarians in Romania better and more effectively. The roots of the Smallholders Party, the Independent Hungarian Party, and the Christian Democratic Party are emerging today under the auspices of the RMDSZ. Thus, there are opportunities for colorful political diversity. It is also the case in our parliamentary group that we have different opinions about certain laws and articles. However, these opinions should converge as far as possible when we are dealing with the vital interests of the Hungarians in Romania. Obviously, the RMDSZ is facing a lot of issues awaiting clarification, and we will try to find a solution to all these issues as early as during the upcoming RMDSZ congress. We will have to organize the preparations for the elections scheduled for May much more effectively.

Stolojan Meets Hungarian Defense Secretary

LD0203222192 Budapest MTI in English 1935 GMT 29 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest, February 29 (MTI)—At Saturday noon, Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan met Lt. Gen. Antal Annus, Hungarian administrative state secretary of defence, who is paying an official visit to Bucharest at the head of a delegation. The special plane which carried the delegation and a group of Hungarian experts who will attend an "open skies" symposium touched down on the Romanian capital's airport in the morning.

Hungary and Romania signed a confidence-building "open skies" agreement in Bucharest on May 11, 1991. The ratifying documents were exchanged by State Secretary of Foreign Affairs Tamas Katona and Romanian Ambassador Simion Pop in Budapest on February 27.

The talks between Stolojan and Annus focussed on the two countries, and two armies, relationship. Both sides stressed the necessity of building mutual confidence and expanding cooperation. The Romanian Prime Minister expressed the hope that bilateral relations would improve.

After the talks, Annus told journalists that he arrived in Bucharest as a substitute for Defence Minister Lajos Fur, who had got ill. Since the two ministries and two armies agreed upon the meeting previously, Hungary did not want to postpone it, Annus said. He added that the Romanian Defence Minister had received this fact with understanding. "Our counsultation was marked by a very good atmosphere, reflecting our sound cooperation," Annus said.

Moldova's Snegur Makes Stopover, Meets Iliescu

AU0303144892 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 3 Mar 92

[Text] Romania's President Mr. Ion Iliescu held talks this afternoon with Mr. Mircea Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova. The meeting between the two heads of state took place during the brief stopover made by Mr. Mircea Snegur in Bucharest on his return from New York, where the Republic of Moldova was accepted as a member of the United Nations. The talk, which was held in the official hall of the Otopeni Airport, was attended by Mr. Adrian Nastase, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Nicolae Tiu, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Moldova, Aurelian Constantin Danila, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Moldova to Bucharest, and other officials. At the end of the meeting, the two presidents made statements to the press and answered the reporters' questions.

Interrepublic

Slovenia, Bosnia Sign Agreement on Payments

92BA0543B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
17 Feb 92 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Dr. Ocvirk on Cooperation With Bosnia-Hercegovina"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] An agreement between Slovenia and Bosnia-Hercegovina on payments has been signed but has not yet in practice gone into effect.

Ljubljana, 16 Feb (STA)—Cooperation in the area of energy and transportation and property issues are the most important areas for normalizing economic flows with Bosnia-Hercegovina, which have been virtually cut off with Slovenia since last October, Slovene Deputy Prime Minister Andrej Ocvirk stated for the Slovene Press Agency.

"We are talking with representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina government about coproduction relations with Sarajevo's Tas, which was previously coproduction between the Yugoslav enterprise Tas and Volkswagen. Tas is now an international enterprise, and consequently Slovene enterprises' coproduction with it needs to be regulated as soon as possible. In spite of the unresolved legal issues, this coproduction is still proceeding normally, since it involves deliveries of 120 million German marks in goods from Slovenia.

"An agreement between Slovenia and Bosnia-Hercegovina on payments has been signed but has not yet in practice gone into effect. In spite of this, representatives of the governments concluded a temporary agreement that both sides would implement it fully," Slovene Deputy Prime Minister Andrej Ocvirk said.

Slovenia, Croatia Establish Free Trade Zone

92BA0543A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
12 Feb 92 p 4

[Article by Gordana Trost: "Trade Without Paying Customs Duties"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] In trading in goods originating from Slovenia or Croatia, it will only be necessary to pay for the customs procedure; the products to which the exemptions do not apply are specified in annexes; a similar agreement soon with Macedonia as well.

Ljubljana, 11 February—The economic cooperation agreement that was signed by Slovenia and Croatia on Thursday provides for foreign trade between the two states in accordance with the principles of a free trade zone. This means that Slovenia and Croatia will conduct customs and other foreign trade policy with respect to other states in a sovereign and autonomous manner. They will keep their own customs duties with respect to others, whereas there are no duties on trade within the zone. A similar agreement is also to be signed soon between Slovenia and Macedonia, which will likewise regulate foreign trade between those states on the basis of free customs zone principles.

As is well known, Slovenia has been striving to establish a free trade area the whole time. Even during the Hague negotiations it did not want to agree to a customs union with the other states of the former Yugoslavia, since the EC proposals also automatically included a monetary union in the customs union, and also a uniform economic and tax policy, but this is not a condition for the establishment of a customs union. According to Dr. Ferdinand Trost, a professor at the Ljubljana Economic School, a customs union still does not mean a monetary union as well. Of course, it can also include one. The EC states have been associated in a customs union ever since 1958, but they are only now preparing for a monetary one.

A free trade area or free customs zone is not the same thing as a customs union. We can say that a customs union is a much more binding alliance for its members than a free trade association. Specifically, a customs union, according to Dr. Trost, provides for conducting a uniform customs policy with respect to nonmembers, i.e., unified customs duties for states outside the union. The union's member states are also committed in conducting the rest of foreign trade policy, including macroeconomic policy, whereas the member states of a free trade association have more room to maneuver in formulating and conducting foreign trade policy. They do not have unified customs duties for nonmembers.

And what does the introduction of a free trade area with neighboring Croatia mean for Slovenia? "Of course, this agreement is welcome for foreign trade and for renewal of the interrupted flows of goods between the two states. In my opinion, Slovenia, and Croatia as well, will not institute extreme customs protection, and likewise they will not have many possibilities available for manipulating customs duties, even though they will be able to conduct their own customs policy with respect to other states outside the free trade area. They will have different protective policies, and consequently they will also have to develop their own concept for protecting their products. If Slovenia and Croatia concluded a customs union or federation, they would resolve the protective policy jointly," stated Dr. Trost. In Dr. Trost's opinion, there would not be major differences in protection between Slovenia and Croatia, in spite of their having their own protection. "Specifically, large differences in protection between the two states would obstruct economic development and foreign trade between them, and that is certainly not desired," Dr. Trost emphasized.

Slovenia Opposes a Monetary Union

Is joining a customs union or a free trade association more appropriate for Slovenia in the present political and economic situation? "In principle, I do not have any

reservations about either a customs union or a free trade zone, of course if the customs union does not also include a monetary union. A customs union would quite certainly require much more coordination between the states at the macroeconomic level as well, and not just in the area of conducting the customs union. If both sides are equally interested, and they would have to be, then a customs union has advantages over a free customs zone, since there are much fewer possibilities for differentiated production costs in a customs union. Disparities in costs are not a negligible problem," Dr. Trost stated.

Some doubts that we have been hearing in public recently, for example, the Liberal Party's opposition to concluding a free customs zone, are political in nature. The claims that Slovenia and Croatia are too different in economic power to be able to conclude such agreements do not withstand economic assessment, according to Dr. Trost.

Agreement With Croatia Is Welcome

This agreement, of course, represents progress for the economy and for further foreign trade cooperation between Slovenia and Croatia. It has helped both to simplify trade and to restore interrupted economic flows between the states, and indirectly with the other parts of the former Yugoslavia as well.

In the current political situation, it is probably better for Slovenia to leave itself room to maneuver in the economic area as well and not to hurry with commitments that are too binding, as long as the situation is not ripe for this. It is true that it is establishing ties with the other states of the former Yugoslavia, just as it has already agreed with Croatia.

With this agreement, Slovenia and Croatia have committed themselves to ensure the free movement of goods, services, investments of money and capital, the free movement of people that is not for purposes of employment, and the development of forms of economic activity and scientific and technical relations. They will encourage and modernize trade in new and standard goods, joint investments and other forms of foreign trade, and the establishment of enterprises and representations, as well as the use of free customs zones. Trade in goods originating in Croatia or Slovenia is exempt from the payment of customs duties and other fees with the same effect. It will be necessary to pay for customs proceedings. In principle, quotas and permits do not apply in mutual trade, except those stipulated in international treaties or other administrative procedures that apply to foreign trade with third states. Annexes specify the products to which the exemptions agreed upon do not apply. Sales tax is settled on the basis of reciprocity. Issues in the areas of finances, banking, and insurance remain unresolved. Slovenia and Croatia intend to settle these with a separate agreement. Until then, the states are not issuing permits for the establishment of banks and insurance companies.

Slovenia, Croatia Organize Refugees' Return

92BA0543C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
17 Feb 92 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Return of Croatian Refugees Organized"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] The Slovene and Croatian governments, with the help of the UN, have agreed on the voluntary return of refugees.

Zagreb, 16 Feb (HINA [Croatian Information and News Agency])—At a meeting on Saturday between the Croatian and Slovene governments in Zagreb, in which representatives of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees also participated, a draft was prepared for a tripartite working group; it will be responsible for the organized voluntary return of Croatian refugees located in Slovenia. This was stated at a press conference by Deputy Croatian Prime Minister Mate Granic, who thanked the Slovene government for the care it had provided to date for the refugees from Croatia.

A month ago, there were already 23,000 refugees registered in Slovenia, whereas there were 7,000 unreported ones. Now there are 13,000 registered, and about 5,000 unreported ones, who are staying with relatives or friends, Dr. Granic stated. According to him, the Croatian government is urging the refugees to return if at all possible.

"The agreement achieved," Dr. Granic continued, "will serve as a model for all the other tripartite agreements on the refugees' return with the governments of the states where they are located."

Matija Malesic, the Slovene deputy prime minister, emphasized that the agreement on all the important points associated with the return of the refugees' return had been achieved, but the working group would work until the problem of the refugees in Slovenia had been completely eliminated. He added that no one would force the refugees to leave Slovenia. Jose Maria Mendiluce, a representative of the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, stated that the world organization would provide full assistance for the refugees' return, and that UN observers and representatives of the International Red Cross, with whom they cooperate closely, would visit the occupied areas in Croatia to which the exiles and refugees were to return.

"The UN observers will keep in contact with all sides to agree on all the conditions for the return of the exiles," Mendiluce stated, and also mentioned "peace, security, respect for human rights, and the opportunity to rebuild what has been destroyed," which would be the four basic conditions for the refugees' return.

Federal

Presidency Session Supports Political Solution

LD0203230992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—At the beginning of an extended session of the SFRY Presidency today, presided over by Vice President Branko Kostic, representatives of federal departments briefed the Presidency on the current political and security situation in the country.

A statement from the session says that the SFRY Presidency particularly examined serious deterioration of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, particularly the Sarajevo events with tragic consequences, the final results of which are still uncertain. The SFRY Presidency roundly condemns an attack on participants of the Serbian wedding and desecration of their religious insignia. The SFRY Presidency concluded that the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is rapidly deteriorating, which occurred following an EC call to hold a referendum of citizens in this multiethnic republic, which is at odds with its constitution; thus, without reaching a consensus of the three constitutive nations, this means that political solutions may be imposed.

The SFRY Presidency holds that it is high time to understand the tragic nature of such actions which will, if not urgently given up, inflict unforseeable misfortune on all nations and citizens in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The SFRY Presidency supports the Conference of the European Community on Bosnia-Hercegovina as a method to a peaceful solution to political problems in this republic and stresses that without an agreement reached between the three nations that live in Bosnia-Hercegovina it is impossible to reach a negotiated political solution.

The SFRY Presidency will respect every political decision of the three equal constituent nations living in Bosnia-Hercegovina which is adopted by agreement. The war in Bosnia-Hercegovina can be avoided if the international community observes such a democratic approach. The SFRY Presidency is calling on all state and political structures, and on all three constituent nations in Bosnia- Hercegovina, to show self-restraint and political common sense in order to avoid a larger scale tragedy which would be difficult to stop.

The SFRY Presidency in the future will invest maximum efforts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis in a peaceful way, through democratic negotiations and seeking negotiated solutions through the constructive cooperation with the international community, the SFRY Presidency's statement says in conclusion.

Discusses UN Troop Deployment

LD0203134592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1228 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 2 (TANJUG)—Today's enlarged session of the Yugoslav State Presidency will focuse on the realization of the plan on the acceptance and deployment of the United Nations peace troops in Yugoslavia. TANJUG learns that the session will also debate a draft law on the right of nations to self-determination and the basis for the establishment of Yugoslavia as a joint state.

Under the Yugoslav Consitution, nations have the right to self- determination pending secession—on the basis of a consensus. The law, however, did not is not clear about how this right can be realized. The Croats and Slovenes used this for the violent secession from Yugoslavia. The session is also attended by the the top organs of the federation, the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia- Hercegovina officials who are cooperating with the Presidency and the representatives of the Serb Krajinas.

New Army, Air Force Generals Appointed

LD2802162192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1507 GMT 28 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav State Presidency, as the highest organ in command of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia in line with transforming and reducing the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and the country's Armed Forces as a whole, adopted a decision during its session on February 25 to terminate active military sevice for a number of generals and admirals this year, as announced today.

The decision, according to the statement, applies to General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic, Admiral Stane Brovet, Generals Aleksandar Spirkovski and Zvonko Jurjevic and others. Kadijevic was federal defence minister, Brovet his deputy and Spirkovci undersecretary of the defence ministry up until January of this year. Jurjevic, as commander of the Yugoslav Air Force and anti-aircraft defence, was suspended from duty after a plane of the Yugoslav air force downed a helicopter of the European Community (E.C.) on January 7.

During the same session, according to today's statement, the Yugoslav State Presidency also adopted a decision on appointing a number of generals to new posts. General Zivota Panic has been appointed deputy chief of general staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, Lieutenant-General Vladimir Stojanovic has been appointed commander of the First Military District and Lieutenant-General Bozidar Stevanovic as commander of the Yugoslav Air Force, as well as a large portion of the commanding officers of the Yugoslav Air Force and anti-aircraft defence.

JNA Property Left in Slovenia, Croatia Detailed

LD2102135592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1001 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—In the territory of the now independent republics of Slovenia and Croatia—not counting military resources following the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA),

according to initial estimates—many apartments, accommodation and recreational centers [odmaralista], health institutions, other buildings, and various items of equipment, the value of which can be measured in billions of the newest dinars, were left behind.

In concrete terms, in these two republics, according to figures of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense which were disclosed in the Yugoslav Assembly, there is army property worth (according to prices from August of last year) 1.049 billion dinars. Experts have calculated that of the overall sum, the JNA is requesting payments from Croatia of 912.9 billion dinars, and from Slovenia 136.3 billion dinars These figures, in the wake of so much inflation, are today far greater. By way of comparison, one could cite the statistic that this year's total federal budget is about 320 billion dinars.

The army owned a total of 4,851 hectares of land in Slovenia, the estimated value of which is 727.7 million dinars. In this land area there are 2,121 military facilities with an accompanying infrastructure—roads, water supply systems, electricity supply networks... [TANJUG ellipsis] In these areas there were 18 garrison clinics, two medical centers and one military hospital. The value of nonevacuated equipment from the military center for medical rehabilitation and treatment in Rimske Toplice, in the Military Medical Center, and in the Ljubljana military hospital (a total of 696 beds) is estimated at 3.48 billion dinars.

In Bled the Sloboda military accommodation and recreation center (265 beds) was left behind with moveable equipment which was not evacuated and is worth 14 billion dinars. As for apartments, in Slovenia the army owned 8,120 "units", as well as significant office and garage space, the value of which is about 30.8 billion dinars.

The report stresses that, on the basis of orders of the Federal Secretary for National Defense, the handing over of facilities begun between the military organs and the Slovene authorities at the end of July last year continued in August, but it was then stopped when, with the withdrawal of the army, "the dirty little war" in this republic began. In this period documentation on the handing over (of facilities) was compiled only for 87 watchtower complexes. Evacuation from the other facilities was done without any official transfers.

A similar thing happened in Croatia too, but it was a matter of much bigger property of much greater value. The army in this republic owned almost 57,000 hectares of land worth 8.5 billion dinars, according to prices from August last summer. On this land the JNA used 7,122 facilities, together with the corresponding infrastructure (roads, runways, platforms, and docking facilities) and they had a value of 687.4 billion dinars.

This land accommodated 27 garrison clinics, military medical centers in Zadar and Zagreb, as well as military hospitals in Zagreb, Split, and Pula. When the JNA left these facilities, it took away equpment from the garrison clinics, as well as from the military hospital in Pula, but a portion of the equipment worth 71.8 billion dinars remained there. The JNA owns military accomodation and recreational centers in Croatia in Fazani, Crikvenica, Trogir, Split, Baska Voda, Krvavac, Orebic, and Kupari. It is stated that no goods from any of these hotels, except the one in Kupari, have been removed, which is why 489.6 million dinars have been claimed (the total of 6,187 beds).

In Croatia, the Army also owns 37,951 apartments (to the value of 144.5 billion dinars), 423 facilities designed for business premises, and 3,721 garages. The Federal Secretariat for National Defense will compile such detailed data about its total property in all other republics too, and it will present them to the Yugoslav Assembly.

The question of how the Army will realize the rights to its goods and property in Croatia and Slovenia remains open. It is supposed that this problem will be solved by a balance sheet at federal level, which is being prepared in the Federal Secretariat for Finance. The new law on the realization of the right to self- determination, which is going through its last phases in the Federal parliament, a law aiming at the peaceful and democratic resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, envisions the adoption of the balance sheet between the former members of the federation. If the balance sheet cannot be made and implemented in a normal way, the law envisions international arbitration which will deal with controversial issues.

$180 Million Set Aside for Oil Imports

LD0203201192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0707 GMT 29 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 29 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government has decided to earmark 180 million dollars in the first quarter the year fo the import of oil, oil derivatives and coking coal, as announced by the power supply association of the chamber of economy of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia's total oil requirements are estimated at about 15 million tonnes, of which 3,7 million tonnes will be secured from domestic sources. Because of the blockade of the major Yugoslav oil pipeline and railway and river taffic, the Yugoslav oil inustry suffered losses of 850 million dollars last year, as estimated by the power supply association of the chamber of economy of Yugoslavia.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Violence Erupts in Sarajevo Over Referendum

EC Condemns Attacks

LD0203194992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1647 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Brussels, March 2 (TANJUG)—The European Community today condemned the violence which has occured in Sarajevo, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of

Bosnia-Hercegovina, during a referendum on the republic's future status. A Serbian wedding party was attacked in Sarajevo yesterday. A member of the wedding party, a Serb, was killed and the Orthodox priest wounded. The incident led to the erection of barricades in the city, on which one person was killed and five wounded last night.

In a statement issued this afternoon in Brussels, where a meeting of the EC ministers is under way, the delegation of Portugal, the country which currently presides over the EC Council of Ministers, urged all sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina to refrain from any action which would endanger their constructive participation in the talks on new constitutional solutions.

The talks on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina opened two weeks ago through the mediation of the European "twelve." Representatives of the three ruling national parties are negotiating on the republic's future order and state and legal status—the Muslim Democratic Action Party, the Serbian Democratic Party, and the Croatian Democratic Union. Muslims constitute 44 percent of the population in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbs 31 percent, and Croats 17 percent. Portugal today also urged all sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina to take urgent measures to guarantee the freedom of movement and safety of all observers in the republic. A group of the observers sent by the EC to Yugoslavia last year is in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Five Injured Overnight

LD0203110492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1018 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Five people were injured last night and this morning in Sarajevo. They have received treatment in the Sarajevo's casualty hospital and none of them is in critical condition, the casualty department says. According to the hospital's report, two citizens, not named, sustained light injuries. They were released following minor medical treatment. One girl who was hit by a bullet in the leg above the knee has remained under treatment. Two men were also hit by bullets, one in the lower part of the leg and the other in the knee. Their names have not been disclosed.

No Trains Entering or Leaving Station

LD0203171292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1041 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Summary] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The information service of the Community of Yugoslav Railways announces that last night and this morning, not a single train entered or left Sarajevo station. Various sections of the railway in Bosnia-Hercegovina have been affected by bomb threats, which have caused disruption on the Doboj-Tuzla and Doboj-Bosanski Samac lines, among others.

Rail Traffic Still Obstructed

LD0203202392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The rail traffic under the authority of the Sarajevo Rail Enterprise is running with difficulties and is partially interrupted. The situation is complex, the Yugoslav Rail Enterprise announced today. The situation is volatile. Travel by rail in Bosnia-Hercegovina is risky and uncertain, the Yugoslav Rail Enterprise assesses. It specifies that the situation on the Podlugovi-Sarajevo rail line is difficult and complex. Traffic was interrupted on that line early this morning at 0030 after warnings that the line was mined in several places. Barricades were erected on the line between the villages of Donji Vagosic and Malesic.

Due to a warning that the Bosanski Samac-Doboj rail line was mined between Osijecani and Vrnjak station at 0150, the traffic is interrupted there. Rail traffic was interrupted on the Doboj-Tuzla rail line between Sockovac and Suho Polje stations last night at 2350. The interruption lasted two hours as a result of warnings that the line was mined.

Armed Groups in Bosanski Brod

LD0203125792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Excerpt] The situation is changing constantly in the Bosanski Brod municipality. According to reliable sources, new groups of armed people are arriving in Bosanski Brod from everywhere. The blockade of the eastern part of the municipality is spreading toward the bridge over the Sava River, which is at the entrance to the town of Bosanski Brod.

As a result of the newly created situation, classes have been suspended in the [name indistinct] secondary school. School children of Bosko Buha primary school, which is in the occupied part of the so-called Serbian municipality of Bosanski Brod, failed to arrive from the village of [name indistinct] because terrorists kidnapped a bus. [passage omitted]

SDS Seizes Sarajevo TV Studio

LD0203155792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Banjaluka, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—According to an order issued by the executive committee of the Municipal Assembly of Banjaluka, keys to a new television studio were taken away from employees of the Banjaluka-based Sarajevo Television Information and Technical Center. A nine-member team remained in the studio premises, in which there are no longer cameras and equipment, apart from two typewriters.

First, the leader of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], Radoslav Vukic, came to the studio dressed in camouflage uniform, and then the director of the newly-founded Banjaluka Television, Aleksandar Sukalo, and

its editor-in-chief, Nikola Guzjan, followed. According to the order of the executive committee of the Municipal Assembly of Banjaluka, the Banjaluka Culture Club is preparing to deny hospitality to the Sarajevo Television correspondents' bureau.

Two Killed in Doboj

LD0203155192 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Barricades can be seen in Sarajevo today. The situation in the city is characterized by difficulties in delivering supplies, many people have failed to reach work, and schools remain closed. Road and rail traffic has been blocked between Doboj and Modrica. The Serbian Democratic Party has put forward six conditions for lifting the barricades. An explosive device has killed two people in Doboj.

Barricades Erected in East Hercegovina

LD0203160192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1541 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Summary] Gorazde, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Following the killing of a Serb in Sarajevo last night, barricades are now being erected in eastern Hercegovina. "In the municipality of Rudo, the Serbian population has erected barricades on regional roads by the river Lim and on the Priboj- Visegrad road in the village of Bijelo Brdo. In this way, they are controlling traffic between Sandzak and Sarajevo. "Barricades were erected on Foca-Sarajevo and Rogatica-Sarajevo roads."

'Frequent Shooting' in Zvornik

LD0203222792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1926 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Zvornik, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Branko Grujic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party in Zvornik Municipality, says that frequent shooting from automatic and other infantry weapons has started tonight in this area. According to the present information, Grujic says, shooting is going in the local Muslim communities of Vitinica, Nezuk, Mitrovac, Kula, and others.

For the past few days the members of the Yugoslav People's Army's [JNA] mechanized armored unit, which arrived in Zvornik Municipality from Jastrebarsko, have been guarding the strategic projects on both sides of the Drina River. At the meeting of the council for national defense in Zvornik, attended by JNA officers and representatives of the political partners in the municipal government, the Party of Democratic Action and the Serbian Democratic Party, it was assessed that the said unit represents an important contribution to stability in view of the tense situation in this area.

State of Emergency in Cajnice

LD0203202592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1052 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Gorazde, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The assembly of the Serbian people in Cajnice Municipality, where the Serbian Democratic Party is in power, decided at today's emergency session to introduce the full state of emergency throughout Cajnice Municipality. In line with this decision, all roads are blocked. Schools and all economic organizations are ordered to suspend classes and work. The session has given its full support to the crisis headquarters of the Serbian Democratic Party in Sarajevo.

Gunfire Reported, Two Wounded

AU0203222092 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Telephone interview with Rada Djokic, Belgrade Television correspondent in Sarajevo, by Milorad Komrakov in Belgrade—live]

[Excerpt] [Komrakov] Respected viewers, at the very end of our DNEVNIK newscast, we have a direct telephone line with our colleague Rada Djokic in Sarajevo. Rada, I hope you can hear me. Please tell us if there are any new details, new information. What is happening in Sarajevo at the moment?

[Djokic] Yes, I can hear you. There are new reports from Sarajevo, but they are unfortunately bad. The situation at this moment is verging on complete escalation. In the meantime, several thousand Sarajevo citizens set off toward the barricades and some 10 minutes ago they were near the Holiday Inn hotel. Shooting broke out there and two people were wounded—a girl and a young man. The people who gathered have dispersed. At this moment, gunfire is continually being heard which is much more intensive than it has been today and last night. [passage omitted]

Romanija Defense Threatens Military Action

LD0203222392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1928 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Romanija, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The defence headquarters of the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAO] of Romanija is requesting that a halt be called to the attacks on barricades in the Sarajevo area. If the attacks on "the Serbian population", are not stopped the statement says, units of the defense of the SAO of Romanija "will organize full combat operations."

The SAO of Romanija defense headquarters statement forwarded to TANJUG, says: "Unless there is an immediate suspension of the attacks and actions of snipers and other armed personnel on the barricades, units of the defense of the SAO of Romanija will organize full combat operations and activities designed to protect the

defenders of the barricades and the Serbian population throughout the territory of the city of Sarajevo."

Citizens March on Barricades

LD0203220692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1938 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—At a barricade in the suburb of Pofalici in Sarajevo there was a clash this evening after 2000. A large group of citizens who had gathered at the town center in the early evening set out in the direction of the barricades, shouting: "We want peace", "We do not want arms", "We are not giving up Sarajevo." Sarajevo television reports that a group of citizens approached the barricade in Pofalici within 50 meters, when shooting from the barricade began. It is reported in the news on Sarajevo's television that two people were slightly injured by bullets rebounding off the asphalt. Muhamed Cengic, deputy prime minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Rajko Dukic, president of the crisis headquarters of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, set out toward the barricades this evening to help calm down the situation and find more lasting solutions.

One Killed in Clashes at Barricades

LD0203213992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2029 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, March 2 (TANJUG)—One person was killed and a number were wounded on Monday evening at the barricades in Sarajevo, the capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina (BIH). This was announced by Sarajevo radio, which invoked the emergency wards' reports.

Two persons were lightly wounded, according to Sarajevo television, when fire was opened on several hundred citizens who approached a barricade in Sarajevo at a distance of some 50 meters chanting: "We want peace," "No arms," "We won't give up Sarajevo" on Monday after 8 p.m. (local time).

Belgrade television reporter said continual fire could be heard in Sarajevo on Monday evening. TANJUG correspondent has learned that BIH Vice Premier Muhamed Cengic and president of the crisis sraff of the Serbian people in the BIH Rajko Dukic went to the barricades in an effort to pacify the situation.

More Citizens March on Barricades

LD0203220992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2034 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Another column of citizens, approximately 2,000, set off this evening toward barricades from the direction of Mojmilo, in the western part of Sarajevo. A group of people shouting "We are not giving up Sarajevo", "We will not be divided", "We are not giving up YUTEL and television" is headed by a police car. The column is moving toward the city center and one of the main barricades in the Pofalici suburb where citizens had previously gathered. The unarmed column is expressing its protest in a peaceful way against what has been happening in the capital city of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Serbs in Bosanski Petrovac Erect Barricades

LD0203234492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2142 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Bosanski Petrovac, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbs living in the villages of Bravsko and Vrtoce near Bosanski Petrovac this evening erected barricades on the main road thus cutting off this part of Bosnian Krajina from Lika and central Bosnia.

SDS Begins Negotiations With Presidency

LD0203120492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1101 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The Crisis Headquarters of the Serbian people of Bosnia-Hercegovina has announced that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency has begun negotiations over the conditions laid down in six points by the Crisis Headquarters regarding the situation in Sarajevo created by a crime committed against a citizen of Serbia during a wedding party.

The Crisis Headquarters appeals to the population of Sarajevo and the city authorities to refrain from any violent actions that may jeopardize the negotiations which have already started. At the same time, the Crisis Headquarters has appealed again that ambulance vehicles not be hindered in any way and that they should be allowed to reach their destinations, although their movement has not come into question at any point.

In its third communique today, the Crisis Headquarters denies the statement of the Ministry for Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina that it controls the situation. This, the Crisis Headquarters stresses, is not true and this is why it is calling on the people of Sarajevo to refrain from any movement within the city. There are indications that the perpetrators of yesterday's crime committed against the Serbian people "are being guarded by armed civilians, thus further exacerbating the current crisis and fuelling tension in intranational relations," the Crisis Headquarters of the Serbian people announces.

Issues Demands

LD0203134292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The crisis headquarters of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina today issued five demands regarding the situation in Sarajevo and the republic in general, stressing that yesterday "shots were fired at the Serbian people and Serbian symbols" and that "this act unambigously demonstrated what the fate would be of the

Serbian people in a sovereign, independent, and internationally recognized Bosnia-Hercegovina."

"Until yesterday, the Serbian people had unreservedly believed in the traditional values of living together in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Proceeding from such a belief, we maintained that we should accept the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina—moreover, we were its initiators and advocates. Unfortunately, our expectations were betrayed yesterday," the crisis headquarters' statement says.

Proceeding from the true state of affairs in Sarajevo and Bosnia- Hercegovina, the crisis headquarters of the Serbian Democratic Party and the Serbian people is raising the following demands and conditions regarding the present situation:

1. That all activities be suspended with regard to the campaign waged with the aim of declaring a sovereign and independent Bosnia-Hercegovina and securing its international recognition until a satisfying and lasting solution has been found for all three constituent peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina; the immediate continuation of the transformation of Bosnia-Hercegovina and its democratic transformation.

2. We are unconditionally demanding that the media stop, as a matter of urgency, its campaign in support of Bosnia-Hercegovina's sovereignty and independence, which in fact has not been won while it is being proclaimed as a done thing by the media. We are also demanding unbiased reporting until the end of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina under the EC's auspices.

3. Yesterday's tragedy and the situation in general in Bosnia-Hercegovina (Kupres, Travnik, Zivinice,...) are the direct consequence of unresolved relations in the Ministry for Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is why we are demanding that a transformation of the personnel structure of the Ministry for Internal Affairs be carried out within the next 24 hours in keeping with the agreements reached shortly after the republican election.

4. We are demanding that the perpetrators of the abominable crime outside the Serbian Orthodox Church in Bascarsija in Sarajevo be arrested by the end of the day.

5. For a long time the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina have been subjected to information blockades and pressures. This is why we are demanding: an urgent division of television and radio as well as an end to Yutel's broadcasts until the completion of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina.

It is also our condition that the Ministry for Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina must not carry out any violent action aimed at the people manning the barricades or any member of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Presidency Issues Statement

AU0203124292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina statement broadcast by Sarajevo Radio— recorded]

[Text] Respected listeners, we have just received a statement issued for the media by the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which met this morning to discuss the situation that arose after the blockade of Sarajevo's streets, as well as the general situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Presidency has concluded the following:

One, the Presidency condemns yesterday's tragic incident in the old part of Sarajevo, as well as all other acts of violence. The identity of those who committed this act was established and they are being sought. The organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are asked to take all the measures within their competence and bring to justice those who committed this and similar acts.

Two, the Presidency holds the view that the referendum that has just ended does not prejudice the internal organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is the subject of the talks conducted under the auspices of the EC. These talks should be continued as soon as possible. The results of the talks must take into account the interests of all the three peoples, as well as the interests of other citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Three, we appeal to all citizens of Sarajevo and Bosnia-Hercegovina—regardless of what their nationality is—who are taking part in the obstruction of the roads to lift the blockades and return to their daily jobs.

This was stated in a communique that the Information Service of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina has forwarded to the media. The Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina adopted the aforementioned conclusions unanimously.

Leaders Comment on Sarajevo Events

AU0203152192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Report on statements by Bosnian Presidency members Biljana Plavsic, Franjo Boras, and Information Minister Velibor Ostojic to Sarajevo Television by Drasko Miletic—recorded]

[Text] Our reporters are still following events in Bosnia-Hercegovina via Sarajevo radio and television. Drasko Miletic has the latest details:

[Miletic] Biljana Plavsic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, stated on Sarajevo Television about 10 minutes ago that the Presidency stressed this morning that the sovereignty of this republic cannot be linked to the referendum, adding that the Serbian people expressed their wishes at the plebiscite in November.

According to her, the Crisis Headquarters of the Serbian people demands that the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina be continued with the participation of EC representatives and that this form the basis for settling problems. Biljana Plavsic stressed that the internal organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina must be determined by the wishes of all three constituent peoples. According to her, Bosnia-Hercegovina has not acquired independence and sovereignty with the referendum.

In a statement for Sarajevo Television, Franjo Boras, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, confirmed Plavsic's view that the internal organization of this republic will depend on the results of the conference.

Velibor Ostojic, information minister in the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, supported the demand that Sarajevo Television stop its media campaign with regard to the referendum. He stressed that it was necessary to analyze the station's editorial policy and even carry out cadre changes there.

Presidency Disclaims Members' Stands

LD0203230392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1946 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)— In connection with the stances of the members of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr. Biljana Plavsic and Franjo Boras, which they set out in today's broadcasts on Sarajevo Television, the office of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina has announced that this is a matter of their personal stand and not of a stand adopted at a session of the Presidency.

The stand of the Presidency continues to be the one set out in the statement from this morning's session of the highest state organ of Bosnia-Hercegovina, says the statement from the office of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina. A second session of today's Presidency of the Republic is under way. However, this session is not being attended by all members of the Presidency. Member, Stjepan Kljujic, failed on his second attempt to get to the building of the Presidency in order to attend the session.

SDS Leader Claims Barricades To Stay

LD0203231192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1747 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Rajko Dukic, president of the crisis headquarters of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Bosnia-Hercegovina, stated today at a news conference that the barricades were erected spontaneously in the wake of the crime in Bascarsija against wedding guests who were carrying Serbian insignia. According to Dukic, the crisis headquarters prevented the arrival of a large number of members of this party in Sarajevo. Dukic also said that the Presidency of the Republic has failed to comprehend the demands of the SDS crisis headquarters; hence, he expects that at this evening's session the Presidency should fulfill all the conditions of the crisis headquarters, which have now been supplemented. The barricades will not be withdrawn unless this is done.

Decisions Expected at Evening Session

LD0203154892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina will hold a new session this evening at 1800 [1700 GMT]. The Presidency is expected to reach decisions on how to resolve the current situation in Sarajevo and Bosnia-Hercegovina at the session. It will greatly depend on the outcome of the session whether there will be barricades in Sarajevo tonight, a member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, Biljana Plavsic, told Sarajevo Television.

Evening Session Begins

AU0203195492 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] An expanded session of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina chaired by Alija Izetbegovic started half an hour ago. It is being attended by Ejup Ganic, Biljana Plavsic, and Franjo Boras. The session is also being attended by Colonel General Milutin Kukanjac, commander of the Second Army District, and Lieutenant General Dragan Vukosavljevic, commander of the Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Jure Pelivan and Muhamed Cengic, president and vice president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government, are also present, as well as Alija Delimustafic, minister for internal affairs, and his deputy Vitomir Zepanic.

Presidency Responds to SDA's Demands

AU0203220092 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2024 2 Mar 92

[Text] Respected listeners, a statement arrived a few minutes ago at Sarajevo Radio's first channel from the session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The expanded session of the Presidency was chaired by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency, and attended by Jure Pelivan and Muhamed Cengic, president and vice president of the Government; Colonel General Milutin Kukanjac, commander of the second military district; Lieutenant General Drago Vukosavljevic, commander of the republican Territorial Defense headquarters; and Alija Delimustafic and Dr. Vitomir Zepanic, minister and deputy minister for internal affairs.

The session again discussed the situation that has arisen since the blockading of roads in Sarajevo and the general situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The session also was attended by Rajko Dukic, head of the crisis headquarters of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is what was decided:

Point one, the Presidency condemns yesterday's tragic incident in Sarajevo and demands that the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina and other responsible organs take all necessary measures to discover the culprits and punish them accordingly;

Point two, the Presidency states that the referendum that has just ended does not prejudice the structure of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is the subject of talks on the future structure of Bosnia-Hercegovina being held under the auspices of the EC. These talks should be urgently continued and their results must respect the interests of all three peoples as well as other citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina;

Point three, it was agreed that with the removal of the barricades, the crisis headquarters of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is no longer necessary;

Point four, the agreement on the reorganization of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina should be put into operation and cadre issues should be resolved as soon as possible;

Point five, the Presidency asks the responsible organs to analyze the proposals regarding changes in the organization and the cadre and programming policy of Sarajevo Radio and Television, which should be decided on by the responsible organs in the Republic as soon as possible;

Point six, the Presidency again calls on all citizens of Sarajevo and Bosnia-Hercegovina, particularly those who took part in blocking the roads, to immediately stop the blockade and return to their regular tasks;

Point seven, agreement was reached that all barricades should be removed without delay.

The Presidency adopted these conclusions unanimously.

People Urged To Abandon Barricades

LD0203221292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2032 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Rajko Dukic, chairman of the crisis center of the Serbian nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Muhamed Cengic, vice president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government, went on television this evening and appealed to the citizens of Serbian nationality manning the barricades in the town [Sarajevo] to abandon them.

At the same time, an appeal to return home was sent to groups of citizens who had set off from two directions toward the barricades. The two officials called on all citizens to return home so that the barricades could be removed from the streets and normal traffic restored, especially on the town's main thoroughfare. The two officials went to tour the barricades after a session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency at which an agreement was reached to remove the barricades and to fulfill certain demands set by the Serbian nation's crisis center.

It is interesting that the representative of the Serbian Democratic Party and Bosnia-Hercegovina Government's vice president addressed the people from the studio of an independent and privately owned television station, Dobre Vibracije [Good Vibrations], located in the center of the town after they failed to reach the Sarajevo television studio which was inaccessible due to the barricades.

SDS, Presidency Leaders Go To Barricade

LD0203221392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2030 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—At about 2100 an agreement was reached by the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina that the barricades be removed from Sarajevo's streets, it was announced simultaneously by Sarajevo radio and television, as they interrupted their programming. The same sources say that Muhamed Cengic, deputy prime minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Rajko Dukic, head of the crisis headquarters of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, set out toward the barricades in order to help calm the situation and find more lasting solutions. At this evening's session of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina an agreement was reached to suspend the work of the crisis headquarters of the republic, and to carry out a reorganization of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as a reorganizaton of Sarajevo radio and television.

Barricades Removed From Streets

AU0303083292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 3 Mar 92

[Text] Barricades that were erected in Sarajevo the night before by the citizens of Serbian nationality in response to the murder at the wedding near the old Orthodox church in Bascarsija were lifted last night. Following the appeal by political parties, a solution was found at the session of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina last night. The Presidency called for the removal of the barricades and this was done right away. Armed civilians withdrew from the barricades immediately after the agreement was reached in the Presidency.

Army Offer of Help Reportedly Rejected

AU0203192692 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1700 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Marijana Grandits report]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] As a member of a parliamentarians' delegation for the observation of the referendum, Marijana Grandits, deputy of the Green Alternative, is in Sarajevo. She describes her observations as follows: [Grandits] [passage omitted] I got the following information from the foreign minister himself: The Army has offered its good offices, but the government refused to have the barricades removed by force. It is hoped that

this can be accomplished peacefully and through dialogue, because there is, of course, the fear that it will not be possible to extinguish the fire if there is a spark. [passage omitted]

Bosanski Petrovac Supports HQ Actions

LD0203214492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2019 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Bosanski Petrovac, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The crisis headquarters of the municipal assembly of Bosanski Petrovac at its session this evening gave unreserved support to the measures and actions of the crisis headquarters of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to an order from the crisis headquarters of the municipal assembly of Bosanski Petrovac, all roads are to be blocked and traffic banned, except for ambulances, local police vehicles and Yugoslav People's Army vehicles.

The crisis headquarters has concluded that the blockade is to be imposed because of the increased threat against citizens and their property caused by the biased and unprofessional work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina,that is, the Bihac-based security services center.

A statement made public by the press center in Bihac says: Provided that conditions set by the crisis headquarters of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina are met, the blockade of traffic on the territory of Bosanski Petrovac Municipality will immediately stop. Until then, according to conclusions reached by the crisis headquarters of the municipal assembly of Bosanski Petrovac, all citizens must take measures of intensified self-protection and protection of vital facilities on the territory of the Bosanski Petrovac municipality.

SDA Calls for Peace, Condemns Murder

LD0203172592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (Tanjug)—In connection with the barricades that have been erected in some places in Sarajevo, the Executive Committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] calls on all citizens to preserve peace and not to respond to these provocations. Citizens should go about their regular activities and all to work by the means of transport available and along streets that are passable. It is necessary that everyone advocate the immediate establishment of the regular supply and functioning of vital services.

The Executive Committee calls on citizens to trust the state organs which are taking all necessary measures to overcome this unpleasant situation, the SDA announces.

The Executive Committee condemns those who committed the criminal murder in Bascarsija and expresses deep regret in connection with this incident, joining in the statement issued about this by SDA Chairman Alija Izetbegovic. However, the Executive Committee states that this murder has obviously been used by specific forces solely as a reason to take action and block roads. The scope of this action, the number of people taking part, and the weapons they have indicate that the action was carefully prepared in advance. This morning's statement by the Serbian Democratic Party removes any doubt about this. This party is obviously not interested in the normal resolution of the murder, but wishes to use it in order to prevent the carrying out of the will of the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina as expressed in the referendum.

Confirming the stand that no one has the right to, or can prevent the implementation of what the peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina voted for in a democratic way, the SDA executive committee stresses that this does not in any way rule out further negotiations on the internal system of Bosnia-Hercegovina which are being conducted under the auspices of the EC. It is understood that these agreements must correspond to the interests of all three nations and of all citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the SDA Executive Committee concludes.

Serbian Parties Blame Wedding Violence

LD0203194292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1726 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, March 2 (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), has stated that yesterday's killing of a Serb in Sarajevo, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, was a "political murder" because it was committed at a "Serbian wedding because Serbian symbols were carried." Karadzic urged the citizens to maintain peace and refrain from uncontrolled actions, but said that he was afraid it was too late for such calls because too many mistakes had already been made.

Alija Izetbegovic, republican Presidency president and president of the Muslim Democratic Action Party (SDA), described the murder as a "shot fired at Bosnia-Hercegovina." The groom's father was killed and the Serbian Orthodox priest wounded outside the Serbian Orthodox Church in the centre of Sarajevo yesterday after attackers trid to take away the Serbian national and religious symbols carried by members of the wedding party.

The party of Yugoslavs today issued a statement in Belgrade, condemning the bloodshed in Sarajevo as a "senseless action of nationalists and the first actual result of the provocative national referendum imposed on Bosnia-Hercegovina by the European Community." The presidency of the Socialist Democratic Party, the strongest opposition party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, has condemned the crime as a "criminal act" which could be an "introduction into lawlessness and a blockade of life" in the republic.

Barricades were put up on roads leading into Sarajevo and in city's main streets last night. One person was

killed and five were wounded on the barricades last night. The Muslim Bosnian Organization (MBO) has called for the withdrawal of all "para-military and para-state formations from the streets" and for an emergency session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament. A series of other, smaller parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina have condemned yesterday's murder and called for the calming down of passions.

Serbians Urged To Unite

LD0203175492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1314 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Trebinje, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina issued a public statement today saying:

"We strongly condemn the treacherous Sarajevo Bascarsija crime in which a Serbian citizen was killed and two sustained injuries, one of which is an Orthodox priest. The aggressive attack on the Serbian pride, in the middle of a wedding ceremony, caused indignation among the citizens of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina, who strongly condemn the crime. "Killing, wounding, and burning down the Serbian banner in the middle of Sarajevo shows what the Serbs can experience in an independent and unitary Bosnia-Hercegovina. Therefore, we are again calling on all Serbian people of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina and elsewhere to be united because it is the only way in which we will be able to protect our personal safety, and the safety of our families and our property," the Assembly of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina stresses.

Karadzic Warns of Independence Dangers

LD0203110992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1019 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)— Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said during a phone talk with a Sarajevo radio reporter today that he has already warned of what might happen if an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina is demanded. "Northern Ireland would be like a vacation resort in comparison with Bosnia-Hercegovina." Karadzic stresses that even the Turkish empire guaranteed its peoples their customs whereas this is no longer guaranteed in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Blames President Izbetbegovic

AU0203123892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] According to a statement read on Sarajevo Television, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, who is in the palace of the Federation in Belgrade where he is attending a session of the SFRY Presidency, said that everything that is being done against the will of the Serbian people must end in the way it has ended.

According to the same statement, Karadzic blamed [Bosnian President] Alija Izetbegovic for the new situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, especially in Sarajevo.

Warns of 'Militant Islam'

AU0203221892 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 2 Mar 92

["Special" interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, by Slavica Raketic; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Raketic] How do you assess the situation in Bosnia- Hercegovina and the latest events?

[Karadzic] The situation is more than explosive: It has actually already exploded. Several incidents and killings have taken place so far, but what happened yesterday regarding the attacks at the wedding party and at Serbian symbols has gone beyond all limits. This shows the peak of the enslavement of the Serbian people, both in the information and political spheres, went beyond the limits of forbearance and degree of possible tolerance of the Serbian people a long time ago.

[Raketic] The crisis headquarters of the Serbian people has issued a statement with six demands, including the cessation of all activities regarding the proclamation of independence. What will the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] do if these demands are not met?

[Karadzic] The SDS will fight with its political means, and in this sense we already have the adopted constitution of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. If they continue with such activities, we will promulgate the constitution—since it has already been adopted and on its basis several laws have been passed—and we will begin to function as a state organism linked with Yugoslavia. We will go in front of Europe to show how Mr. Izetbegovic undermines and minimizes every achievement made at the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The SDS is not omnipotent, however. It deals with a political struggle and political means, but the people are dying, not from political means but from other people's bullets. The people will defend themselves. The Serbian people are quite capable in all of Bosnia-Hercegovina to completely protect themselves.

[Raketic] Do you expect any steps to be taken by the SFRY Presidency in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Karadzic] We have just been to the expanded session of the SFRY Presidency and a statement was issued, which should point out and present the positions of the Presidency. I do not yet know if there will be any special actions regarding the involvement of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs or the Army, but in any case the Presidency has sharply condemned the circumstances in which these events are taking place.

[Raketic] Mr. Izetbegovic yesterday interpreted the results of the partial referendum as an orientation of the

people in Bosnia- Hercegovina not only in favor of independence but against the separation of all three peoples. How do you respond to this?

[Karadzic] That is one of the most unbelievable examples of Izetbegovic's acrobatics with which he rejects the EC and everything that we have so far achieved, even though he earlier received a letter from Cutilheiro which says that we are going forward and that there is no returning to square one.

I cannot understand Mr. Izetbegovic. How does he think that he can close 35 percent and 1.5 million Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina into a state creation in which he will be the boss, and how does he think he will impose a state on Serbs that they will not accept? We will never accept a state that we have not endorsed with our signature.

There is no way that this will happen, and we have warned the EC that unverified support for Mr. Izetbegovic is in fact support for a very well-camouflaged and hidden militant Islamic fundamentalism, which will bring misfortune to Europe. The Serbian people are the first target of such fundamentalism and this can already be seen. We will fully brief the EC on the latest events and we will particularly inform them of the behavior of Mr. Izetbegovic, who disparages everything that we achieve with his interpretations.

[Raketic] Do you think that there could be an armed conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Karadzic] There has already been an armed conflict.

[Raketic] A more complex one, of greater proportions than today.

[Karadzic] It could happen if (?there are really ambitions for this). I was until recently a great optimist, and I thought that one people would not resort to such means and use arms to impose their will on another people, but now I see that such plans really are being made, and there is the firm intention of imposing a solution on the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

I do not understand. Is it that they do not know the Serbian people or is it that they have promises or guarantees from somewhere else, but in any case this is a completely unrealistic approach. Serbs control more than 60 percent of the territory. We are in the position to completely close this territory within two hours and to take full control of our territories so that not even a bird could enter.

There is no one who can govern us in Bosnia-Hercegovina without our consent. The state that they want to impose on us would be much worse than any Lebanon, Cyprus, Northern Ireland, or Nagorno- Karabakh. The domination of Serbs by anyone is simply out of the question, and we do not want to dominate anyone else either.

[Raketic] Could this be interpreted as a kind of message?

[Karadzic] We have been sending this kind of message for a year and half, since we were established. We are prepared for an agreement. We are prepared for dialogue. We are prepared for a life together. We can live with each other or next to each other. I fear that we will no longer be able to live together. We cannot stand in the same ranks, in the same army. We must separate many functions, just as the Indians and Pakistanis have done, the Turks and Greeks, and the Azerbaijanis and Armenians. Simply, if our neighbors opt for militant Islam, then there can be no cohabitation in the same legal and political system.

Considers Interethnic War Unavoidable

LD0203160792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—All demands for a referendum and for the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina are illegal. This was stated by Radovan Karadzic, chairman of the Serbian Democratic Party for Bosnia-Hercegovina, to foreign television reporters. Sarajevo television has also relayed his statement.

"This a terrible mistake causing uncontrollable processes," Karadzic said. "In fact, incidents are introducing uncontrollable processes in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Recognition will worsen the situation. Uncontrollable processes which could continue, could set the whole of Yugoslavia and even the Balkans on fire. We will try to calm the Serbian people, although this is very difficult due to violations of human and national rights. This political murder was committed during a wedding. The reason was that Serbian insignia were displayed at a Serbian wedding. A priest was wounded. This shows us how we would live in an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina. We would lose our freedom and we will not accept any independent Bosnia-Hercegovina. I would like the people to keep calm and to refrain from uncontrollable and senseless actions. But I am afraid it is to late for that. Many mistakes have been made. The European Community made a mistake. Mr. Izetbegovic and the authorities in Bosnia-Hercegovina made a mistake. People have been living under pressure and I think that we cannot avoid an interethnic and religious war like the one during the partition of India and Pakistan. This is my great worry," Radovan Karadzic said on Sarajevo television.

Muslims Blame Serbs for Sarajevo Situation

AU0203155892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] In a statement by the Party of Democratic Action, all blame for the present situation is put on the Serbian Democratic Party. This was reported by Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia- Hercegovina Presidency from this party.

German Election Observers Stuck in Sarajevo

LD0203193592 Hamburg DPA in German 1553 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Bonn/Paris (DPA)—Numerous German and European election observers supervising the independence referendum in the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina this weekend are now stuck in Sarajevo today. Bundestag Deputy Stefan Scharz reported by phone from Sarajevo at noon that the Germans are not allowed to leave their hotel rooms by order of the Serbs. In addition to Scharz, the Bundestag Deputy Joerg van Essen, two deputies from the Saxon land parliament, and four journalists are also there. The group hopes to be able to get safely to Belgrade by this evening with the aid of the Yugoslav People's Army. From Belgrade they will be able to fly back to Germany. [passage omitted]

French Observers Stranded

LD0303003192 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1700 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Two French parliamentarians—the European deputy Jean-Francois Hory and the Socialist deputy for Essonne (Jean Albouy)—are stuck in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia Hercegovina. They took part this weekend in the international mission organized to watch the referendum. Even before the announcement of the official results of the poll, violent incidents broke out today in Sarajevo. Barricades appeared in the streets and automatic weapons' fire was heard. The interethnic clashes are already reported to have caused about a dozen deaths. The Portuguese presidency of the EEC has issued an appeal to all parties involved and called for a halt to the violence. The Yugoslav issue was also on the agenda of the lunch at the Elysee between Francois Mitterrand and Italian President Cossiga.

Observers Authorized To Leave

LD0303003292 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1800 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Report from Sarajevo by Laurent Coulon]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] After a long day of negotiations in Belgrade and Sarajevo between the army, the federal authorities, the Serbs of Bosnia, and the European Community, the European observers who were blocked in Sarajevo have been authorized to leave the city. Two buses were placed at their disposal to take them to the airport where a special plane awaits them.

Early Results: Majority Favor Independence

LD0203195992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1739 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—According to a report from the Bosnia-Hercegovina referendum organizational committee, based on figures available at 1600 GMT today, the turnout in the Bosnia- Hercegovina independence referendum is 63.7 percent. Of the 63.7 percent, a positive reply to the referendum question was given by 63.35 percent of citizens who cast their vote, 0.19 percent were against, and 0.17 percent of the votes were invalid. Final official results of the Bosnia-Hercegovina referendum will be announced at a news conference in Sarajevo tomorrow morning.

Further Results: Independence Wins

LD0303135592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 3 Mar 92

[Text] The results of the referendum on independence in Bosnia-Hercegovina were announced today. Of the total number of registered voters—that is over 3,121,000—63.24 percent voted in the referendum. There were only 5,948 votes cast against the referendum. The referendum calling for an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina carried with over 99 percent of the votes.

Croatia

Government Supports Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency

LD0303101692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0905 GMT 3 MAR 92

[Text] The Croatian Government has stated that it supports the Presidency in Bosnia-Hercegovina in its search for a peaceful solution to the crisis in that republic. During its meeting, the government also adopted a positive position concerning the recent Helsinki watch report and the efforts by the UN, EC, and others in ensuring respect for human rights throughout Croatia. However, the enacting of the government's proposed legislation on minority rights was postponed owing to complications. The legislation has been passed on to the committee for coordinating social activities for further revision.

Paraga Predicts War in Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD0103162792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1357 GMT 1 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG)—Leader of the extreme nationalist and pro-fascist Croatian Party of Rights Dobrosav Paraga predicts a soon war rather than a resolution of political crisis in the multi-ethnic Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Paraga tells the Belgrade weekly VREME that "defences are being massively organized throughout Bosnia and thousands of men are joining the HOS [Croatian Defences Union] units which have begun to substitute Bosnia-Hercegovina's army." He adds that conflicts were inevitable. "HOS" is short for "the Croatian Defences Union" or Paraga's party troops bearing World War Two Ustashi markings and aiming to incorporate parts of both Bosnia and Serbia into Croatia.

Paraga admits holding 16,000 his armed men on alert in predominantly Croat-populated Western Hercegovina alone. This weekend's referendum on Bosnia-Hercegovina's independence, Paraga says, is "only the first step towards another referendum" for the republic's Croats to vote on a union with Croatia. Paraga does not conceal that the question of unification of Bosnia-Hercegovina with Croatia is of strategic importance for Croatia's defences."

Paraga, probably the most controversial person on the Croatian political scene, asserts his combatants do not want war and then goes on to say that they are "highly motivated to fight and will not hear of staying either in Yugoslavia or out of Croatia. "Everybody should have their own national state, not to expand its borders by force," says Paraga and immediately asserts openly his pretensions to enlarge Croatia by taking from Serbia even one part (Zemun Principality) of its capital city Belgrade, so that it has remained ambiguous how Croatia could non-violently spread its borders out into the heart of Serbia.

Serbian Krajina Elections Scheduled for 19 Apr

AU2602100092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Text] The two-day sitting of the first joint session of Serbian Krajina, the Autonomous Region of Western Slavonia, and the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem representatives is scheduled to begin in Borovo Selo at 1100. As reported, some 270 deputies are due to elect the president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, who will choose the prime minister designate to set up a new government. This is the news reported by all journalists, who will be reporting from Borovo Selo.

However, our editorial office received news by fax this morning of two decisions that were endorsed on behalf of the Republic of Serbian Krajina in Knin with the stamp of its president Petar Cvetanovic. These decisions mean that elections for the president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and deputies to its Assembly have been scheduled for 19 April. Apart from the text of the decisions, the fax contained no other details.

Babic Says He Remains President of Krajina

AU0203182292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] The newly-formed organs and government of Serbian Krajina in Borovo Selo are nothing but a puppet regime directed from Belgrade by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Milan Babic said at a news conference today. He stated that he does not believe that he has been removed from power and therefore remains president of the Krajina republic. Jelena Hinic reports:

[Hinic] As the main reason for his visit to Belgrade, Babic cited the abuse of the news media which, in his words, are being used by Belgrade to indoctrinate the people in Krajina. He said that a military coup is still possible in Krajina on instructions from Belgrade.

By setting up parallel organs of authority, Babic said that the Belgrade regime intends to implement the agreement reached last year in Karadjordjevo in which Tudjman and Milosevic agreed to leave Krajina as part of Croatia. Babic claimed further that the Yugoslav Army has been ordered to disarm the Serbs in Krajina and then to dissolve itself.

Speaking ironically, Babic said that the assembly of the Serbian people should be held in Valjevo instead of Borovo Selo with representatives of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro, and new organs of authority should be chosen there. Babic also expressed the fear of a civil war in Krajina since, according to him, many civilian and military policemen had arrived in Krajina from Serbia, which has frightened people. Babic said that if things continued like this, the UN forces would reconcile the Serbs among themselves but not the Serbs with other peoples. Babic also expressed the fear that the system of payments would come to an end, since Krajina is forced to operate this through Belgrade.

On events in Bosnia-Hercegovina, he said that the Serbian people there had been tricked by the policy of the Serbian Democratic Party and its leader Radovan Karadzic, so it was expected that the Serbs would become a minority in a Muslim state. [end recording]

Krajina Assembly Loyal to Babic Convenes in Knin

LD0203161692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1413 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Knin, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The republic of Serbian Krajina assembly which supports Milan Babic is in session in Knin today. At the proposal of assembly president Petar Cvetanovic, the assembly endorsed the first item on its agenda: current events and the political and security situation in the republic of Serbian Krajina. Risto Matkovic, president of the Krajina Government which has its seat in Knin, informed the deputies about the situation. He said that following the assembly session in Borovo Selo (which dismissed Babic from the post of Krajina president), a dual rule came into existence on the territories of all Krajinas. He described the situation as dramatic noting that conflicts could also occur. It is not known whether the session has a quorum or not.

Criticizes Belgrade Government

LD0303005292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1802 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Knin, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Considering in detail the development of events in Krajina, the government of the republic of Serbian Krajina met in Knin under the chairmanship of Risto Matovic. A statement from the meeting says that "all the activities orchestrated from Belgrade are aimed at destroying Krajina and leaving it in Croatia." The statement adds that "the meetings organized by roaming bands have no foothold in the Krajina constitution and are designed to overthrow those who were elected in a normal electoral procedure and forcefully to promote persons rejected by the people in the elections."

The statement also says that the economic blockade of Krajina and the blocking of all its bank accounts are "a contribution to the history of dishonor, and a case of Serbian people suffocating themselves." In conclusion, today's the government appealed to the citizens to avoid public meetings so that, "there will be no unwanted consequences. A single drop of human blood is more than all political intrigues are worth," the statement concludes.

Blockade 'Preventing' Government Support

LD0203145392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The legal assembly of Serbian Krajina is in session in Knin. All institutions are functioning normally, but the town "is blocked by the military and Milosevic's police, who are preventing the people from coming and giving their support to the legitimate authorities," Milan Babic has told a news conference today. Asked about a possible civil war in Krajina, Milan Babic said: "The levers of the civil war are in the hands of Slobodan Milosevic."

Belgrade Accused of Division Policy

LD0303004592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2114 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Knin, March 2 (TANJUG)—One of the two parallel governments active in the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] accused on Monday "Belgrade" for attempts at breaking up the RSK, which Serbs proclaimed in the parts of the secessionist Croatia in which they constitute the majority population. An announcement from the government session, held on Monday in Krajina's central city, Knin, the authorities of Serbia were being acccused also for "activities directed" towards Krajina's remaining in Croatia.

Krajina was proclaimed last year as a response of the Serbian people in Croatia to the secession of this republic from Yugoslavia. The Serbian people wish to remain in Yugoslavia. For over a month now, two parallel governments and parliaments existed in Krajina, denying each other legitimacy. Such a situation was the result of a rift in the leadership of Krajina, caused by differing stands towards the plan of the UN Secretary general's special envoy Cyrus Vance on deployment of "blue helmets" in Yugoslavia.

The acceptance of Vance's plan was signed by president of the RSK parliament Mile Paspalj. The RSK president, Milan Babic, declared Paspalj's signature illicit. Paspalj called a sesssion of the parliament and ousted Babic and his cabinet and then on February 26 held a new session of the assembly in Borovo Selo, in Slavonija, which elected a new president and government. Babic told a press conference on Monday in Belgrade that the removal was directed from Belgrade, i.e., by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

That there was parallel authority in Krajina was confirmed on Monday also by premier of "Babic"s" government Risto Matkovic at a session of the part of the parliament that supported Babic and was in session in Knin. Matkovic assessed that the decisions of the session at Borovo Selo had "no legal grounds". He believes a "genuine solution" in such a situation were parliamenary and presidential elections in Krajina, set for April 19.

The "Knin assembly" of the RSK re-asserted its support "only to the legitimate government" of the RSK and "Milan Babic, as the legally elected presient of the republic." No quorum was being determined at the sessions of the RSK assembly in Knin.

Government Lifts Restrictions on Prices

LD0303102192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0905 GMT 3 Mar 92

[Text] The Croatian Government has decided to lift ceiling restrictions on the wholesale and retail prices of everything except flour, milk, sugar, cooking oil, and baby food. Oil products have also increased in price with a liter of gasoline now costing 72 dinars and a liter of diesel 51. This represents a price hike of 25 percent. Rail fares and charges went up by 30 percent and another increase is expected in the next few months.

Knin Corp Protests Cease-Fire Violations

LD0203230592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Knin, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—A civilian, Petar Vujko, was killed in this morning's attack launched by Croatian forces from their stronghold near the village of Dubravice near Sibenik [30 kms North of Sibenik]. This is said in today's statement issued by the Information Service of the Knin Corps. The statement adds that the Croatian forces opened fire at 1105 from machineguns from their positions in the wider region of the village of Posedarje on the Novi Grad coast. Soldiers did not return fire, the statement says, adding that the corps has lodged a sharp protest via UN liaison officers with the other side for cease-fire violations.

'Crisis Zones' Report 'No Major Incidents'

LD0203141192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1357 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 2 (TANJUG)—The night and this morning were generally quiet in the crisis zones in the separatist Yugoslav Republic of Croatia - reports coming in from the field say no major incidents took place, but there were some provocations by the Croatian armed formations. The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) Information Service in Knin said this morning that positions of the JNA and Territorial Defence (TO) in the area around the cities of Zadar and Sibenik had yesterday on several occasions come under fire from the Croatian side.

JNA sources said the army had not fired back and had informed U.N. liaison officers about the ceasefire violations. Croatian radio, which is subject to state censorship, claimed that Croatian forces positioned around Sisak had come under mortar fire at around 10:00 hours local time today. The radio gave no details. Neither the JNA nor Croatian radio reported any other violations of the agreement on a ceasefire in the battlezones in Croatia, which was signed in Sarajevo just after the new year.

Croatia's Minister for Maritime Affairs Davorin Rudolf has sent a letter to Admiral Miodrag Jokic, the commander of the JNA's Boka military-naval sector, calling for negotiations on a withdrawal of JNA units from the Dubrovnik region with the aim of securing observance of the ceasefire. As announced in Zagreb, Rudolf cited the agreement signed in Cavtat on December 7 last year by the Croatian Government and the JNA Supreme Command on a cessation of hostilities in the areas of the communes of Dubrovnik and Metkovic.

The JNA has expressed readiness to pull its forces out of the area around Dubrovnik, but is insisting that the broader region around the town be totally demilitarized, a demand which the Croatian side finds unacceptable. Croatia's authorities have stationed in Dubrovnik's old city several thousand armed members of its paramilitary formations, which is contrary to the agreement the JNA, the Croatian authorities and the communes of Dubrovnik and Trebinje signed in 1968.

Article Sees U.S. Policy Favoring Serbia

92BA0552B Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by Srecko Jurdana: "America as an Advocate of Serbia: False Rhetoric and Buying Time"]

[Text] May we, on the basis of the American scenario for the pacification of Croatia, which is being transformed with astonishing speed from the idea phase to the realization phase, allow ourselves to predict the future fate of this area after the UN peacekeeping forces stamp their mark on it?

The phenomenon of peacekeeping forces is characterized by some discrete as well as significant political connotations. This is undoubtedly an American plan in its entirety. America is using its influence as the only remaining great power to place UN peacekeeping forces in the world's most sensitive area to further its own interests, at a time when its local protege has begun to show serious signs of weakness. Namely, the peacekeeping forces did not come when they were absolutely essential to Croatia, when Croatia cried out for their assistance and demanded that the world immediately stop the Serbian genocide against the unarmed Croatian people. No, "conditions did not exist" for their prompt arrival in those critical times, the "cease-fire was not being respected," there was no "political agreement." This false rhetoric, with which American bought time to check whether Serbia would nevertheless succeed in the end in the attempt at a military establishment of a new Yugoslavia under its own domination, was paid for by Croatia with thousands of cruelly murdered innocent people and the loss of 40 percent of their territory. It is necessary to remember this, this fact that America (or European parties that are under its direct influence) blocked international assistance for Croatia when it needed it the most, when it was a question of Croatia's being or not being.

Now, when it is clear that the Serbian "plan" has failed politically, there are suddenly no obstacles to the urgent arrival of peacekeeping forces.

Serbia's failure to honor the ceasefire, Serbia's escalation of the war on Croatian battlefields, are no longer an obstacle to international involvement and all previous rhetoric falls into the water in the face of the ardent American need to maintain some sort of status quo in Croatia. This maintenance of the status quo is seen in the unconditional prevention of any military option by which Serbia would be punished for its aggressive actions or in the unconditional preservation of the political integrity of Serbia and the political integrity of Serbs in Croatia. In this manner America will attempt to protect its influence in the Balkans and, indirectly, in Europe (keeping, by means of the peacekeeping forces, the Balkan fuse in its hands).

Such a development of events confirms that Europe—which has established itself as a uniform technological whole—does not exist at all as a uniform political whole. Ceding oversight of its most sensitive area to its accomplice, America, Europe is also losing influence over the future development of events which America, when the "dust settles," will probably try to steer in the direction of a Balkan "society of independent states." Some will also wish to call this society a "new Yugoslavia."

National Party President on Vance, Elections

92BA0552C Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by Gordana Grgas: "Conference for Croatian National Party Reporters: Who Determines Conditions?"—first paragraph is VJESNIK headline]

[Text] Speaking about the imminent arrival of "blue helmets" in Croatia, Dr. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar, HNS [Croatian National Party] president, cited numerous questions that she believes remain open.

Has the Croatian side displayed appropriate negotiating skill in negotiations about a peaceful settlement, or did it approach the signing of the Sarajevo agreement in a certain, almost amateurish manner?

The blue helmets are a reality that will probably take place these days, but it is questionable whether optimal solutions have been chosen for Croatia in the negotiations, especially since Croatia has already suffered tremendous losses. The question is also whether the Croatian government knew what it was signing or not; or, if it did know, whether it reported it accurately to the people; these questions, as well as those correct ones that must today be posed publicly, were raised by Dr. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar at the beginning of a conference for party reporters. She also answered them in a rather long editorial speech.

What Is Local Authority?

Having mentioned that the arrival of the "blue helmets" includes several positive aspects, including the withdrawal of the army from the whole territory of Croatia, peace, the disarming of paramilitary units, the recognition of borders, the seeking of a political solution under those conditions and, in principle, the recognition of the sovereignty of Croatia, Dr. Dabcevic-Kucar cited those questions that she considers to be open:

"What is local authority that remains in areas where the blue helmets come and what is local militia; who is responsible and how for the disarming of paramility units; in what way will the key question for Croatia be provided for—the return of Croats to areas where they lived and the dislocation of 'those thrown in' to artificial 'Serbian enclaves'; which laws will be applicable in an area where the 'blue helmets' are?"

"Regardless of the fact that 'blue helmets' (theoretically and in principle) do not bring Croatian sovereignty into question, it is known that where they come laws of local authority are respected. Therefore, the question is whether laws passed by so-called Krajina, laws of the former Yugoslavia, or, as a higher level, laws of the Republic of Croatia will be applied there. These are questions that determine the concrete, practical sovereignty of Croatia. Can the same authority that drove Croats out of that area be a guarantee of a truce until, let's say, political questions are resolved at the European conference"?

"I read that the representative of the Government for Knin stated that he does not know whether he will be able to enter Knin or Knin will be decided on in Sibenik! Therefore, the concrete conditions under which the government will be formed in these areas are not known to Croatia to this day. This certainly indicates an insufficiently qualified negotiating team (or individual) and an unacceptable amateurism in the process. I propose, if it is still possible, that additional protocols and appendices be signed and that those questions of vital importance be stated precisely," the HNS president concluded.

There Is No Time for Elections

She also referred to future elections and stated that there is no time for them now. "Croatia is still not sovereign on a large part of its territory, 700,000 Croats have not yet returned to their homes, there are broad, open social and economic questions that, if some incisions are not made immediately, threaten catastrophe. It is said that the opposition has opened a preelection campaign, that in such serious times it has imposed a struggle for power, and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] has begun a preelection campaign (without announcement)—in a manner as if it has prepared an election law, held a discussion, and defended the law in the Assembly, through the haughtiness and arrogance of individuals. The most ordinary majority vote has been held. President Dr. Franjo Tudjman really announced his candidacy in December, and he answered affirmatively at a press conference to the question whether the preelection campaign had begun. It was also reported in the press, after a meeting of the Supreme State Council on 15 January, that it had been learned that the organization of

elections is beginning. The incumbent party has practically begun an election campaign, contrary to regulations, and then they'll be shouting 'stop, thief,'" concluded Dr. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar.

Interests With Arabic Countries Discussed

92BA0549A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 92 p 4

[Interview with Sevko Omerbasic, president of the Mesihat for Croatia and Slovenia (body of elders of the Islamic community) and chairman of the Committee for Relations With Arabic and Islamic Countries in the government of the Republic of Croatia, by Salih Zvizdic; place and date not given: "Croatian Interest in Arabic Countries"]

[Text] Sevko Omerbasic, president of the Mesihat for Croatia and Slovenia (body of elders of the Islamic community), is at the same time chairman of the Committee for Relations With Arabic and Islamic Countries of the government of the Republic of Croatia. He was born 47 years ago in eastern Bosnia, is married, and is the father of two children. He took his university degree in Arabic language and literature at the University of Bengasi (Libya) and did postgraduate work at the Catechetical Institute of the School of Catholic Theology in Zagreb.

[Zvizdic] Are you in some kind of employment relation with the government of Croatia? Who are the people on the committee you head?

[Omerbasic] I am not employed, but do all that work on a voluntary basis, that is, without charge. Our committee consists of about 10 prestigious specialists in the fields of economics, science, and culture, and most of them have been related to those countries for a long time by the nature of the work they do. There are four Muslims on the committee, also experts in various fields.

[Zvizdic] How is it that not a single Arabic or Islamic country has recognized Croatia except Turkey?

[Omerbasic] I think that this is a question of those countries being poorly informed about Croatia and about everything happening here. So long as it existed, the old Yugoslavia strongly imposed the vision of nonalignment on those countries, and the foreign service of the former Yugoslavia did everything, as it is doing everything today, to prove that what Croatia and Slovenia are doing is secessionism driven by a profascist bureaucracy. At the same time, Croatia, preoccupied by war and relations above all with Europe and the United States, has simply not been able to inform those countries more fully about everything any earlier than this.

[Zvizdic] Do you feel that those countries could have a more significant role in Croatia's relations with the world?

[Omerbasic] Those countries are very interesting to Croatia not only because of their number and political influence on the world through the United Nations and in other ways, but especially from the economic standpoint. Croatia's largest enterprises, such as INA, Geotehnika, Pliva, INGRA, Astra, Hidroelektra, Podravka, Koncar, Chromos, and others, have for years had their plants and representative offices in those countries, they are building factories there, hydroelectric power plants and other economic and housing facilities, they are exploring for water and petroleum, and they are engaged in trade. This trade runs to the billions of dollars, and those are also countries containing world-class sources of petroleum.

[Zvizdic] Are there chances of it, and when might they recog[illegible]e us?

[Omerbasic] During our travel there and in other ways, we have received assurances from the Arab League that the member countries of that large organization are considering the possibility of recognizing Croatia, Slovenia, B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], and Macedonia in a single package, and that would be done soon. We have an assurance from Egypt, the largest and most influential Arabic country, that it will recognize us very quickly, and that "nothing can stop" their decision. In Iran, they have told us that the decision on recognition will be made most probably by 5 March, i.e., before the beginning of Ramadan, the month of fasting.

[Zvizdic] At the meeting of the nonaligned on Cyprus, the recognition of Croatia was spoken of in an unusual context, which is seen as a sign of very active efforts by representatives of the former Yugoslavia.

[Omerbasic] It was proposed there that Croatia and Slovenia be recognized, but that the "remainder of Yugoslavia" be recognized as "New Yugoslavia." That proposal was rejected through the efforts of certain Arabic countries, and at Iran's insistence it was proposed that the next meeting of the nonaligned by held in Indonesia, not in Belgrade, taking away the right of the chair from the representatives of "Yugoslavia."

[Zvizdic] Are the Arabic and Islamic countries particularly interested in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Omerbasic] Because we come from Croatia, it is understandable that they should be primarily interested in the entirety of Croatian affairs, and particularly in the justifiability of the struggle for independence and sovereignty. Immediately thereafter Bosnia-Hercegovina, its borders, relations among the nationalities within the framework of that state, and relations with Croatia and Serbia. Turkey has a particular interest in this, believing that as a reliable ally of the United States and a disciplined member of NATO, it has an important role in the Balkan region as a peacekeeper, because all the important events in the Balkans, wars in particular, have always impinged upon the interests of Turkey. People write openly in the Turkish press that Turkey will not remain neutral in case of a war in B-H.

[Zvizdic] Let us get back to the economy. Has Croatia already concluded any trade arrangements with those countries?

[Omerbasic] Our committee does not conclude specific transactions, nor is that our task. I do know that INA, Geotehnika, and certain other enterprises have already entered into new business arrangements with those countries within the framework of sovereign Croatia.

[Zvizdic] You visited Iran in early February. I hear that you were the first citizen of Croatia to enter that country with a Croatian passport. Did they have any problem with that in view of the fact that they still have not recognized us?

[Omerbasic] There were no problems. The policemen knew about Croatia, because there are 17 Croatian enterprises working there. In that country, which surprised me with the dynamism of its economic recovery, I talked with the Ayatollah Khamanei and with others. They were interested in everything about Croatia, as well as about Bosnia-Hercegovina, which they say is occupied by the former Yugoslav Army. They are ready for economic cooperation, and that immediately, without waiting for recognition, which will soon be coming from that quarter. What is more, during the eight-year war that country had 250,000 killed and many more wounded, 24,000 of whom are seriously disabled, and they still have about eight million refugees and exiles! They therefore have a great deal of experience in treating war wounds, especially in caring for refugees and exiles, and we will take advantage of their experience. They have also promised us humanitarian aid in the form of food, and other forms of aid are not precluded either.

[Zvizdic] In the cultural area, there have reportedly been talks about Iran as the original homeland of the Croats.

[Omerbasic] Yes, that is a very fascinating question that numerous Croatian historians have already written about. They told us that there is a province there called Horati, which they say might have been the original homeland of the Croats, and valuable documents on research into this topic are in a large library in Tehran. I think it would be good for our historians to pay due attention to this now, under the new conditions.

[Zvizdic] You have talked in the Supreme Command of Yugoslavia about relations between Croatia and B-H. What is your impression of this?

[Omerbasic] I have the impression that the immense majority in the government and Assembly of the Republic of Croatia wants a sovereign and independent Bosnia and Hercegovina, whose firm borders also signify a guarantee for the firmness of all Croatia's borders. At a reception for representatives of religious communities, I proposed to the prime minister and government of Croatia that Croatia be the first state to recognize sovereign B-H, because it has very important reasons for that. Not only because Croatia has a border that is about 1,000 km long with B-H and because the geopolitical map of the two states is unthinkable without close mutual relations in the economy, transportation, and culture, but also because the sovereignty of B-H also includes full sovereignty and constituent status of the Croatian people in the community of three nationalities with the same rights.

[Zvizdic] How do you interpret the meetings of the leadership of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] of B-H in Siroki Brijeg and Livno?

[Omerbasic] I would not go into politics, but you are pressing me to think out loud about this. The SDA [Democratic Action Party] and HDZ, as the two leading parties of the Muslim and Croatian peoples, respectively, have long been partners in the coalition that has in a way been shaken since the occupation of B-H by the Yugoarmy, especially the reservists and Chetniks. The tragedy of Ravno occurred there, there have been attacks of reservists on Croats there and in other places and in Mostar, but in Croatia few people know that the Yugoarmy also killed 11 Muslims from Velika Kladusa, that the Chetniks and reservists also killed Muslims in Bratunac, Bijeljina, Trebinje, Bileca, Gacko, and elsewhere. This shows that the Muslims and Croats are equally targets of those who would rather see Bosnia-Hercegovina divided and disunited. There have been outbursts now here, now there, which momentarily cloud the traditionally good relations between the two nationalities, which have never waged war down through history. But I think that those details should be looked at from a historical distance, or, as it is said, one should not set fire to the house to drive out the mice.

[Zvizdic] Do you agree that there is justification for the Livno proposal to restate the referendum question in B-H?

[Omerbasic] I proposed earlier, and now my predictions are being borne out: all three of the main parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina must talk with one another about the future of B-H, because too much fear and distrust of one another has built up on all three sides. It also seems that some Croats in B-H have recently felt intensified fear of any kind of Islamic state, which in Livno some people even referred to as a "djamahirija." I simply cannot understand that fear, which has been tendentiously imposed by others, because it makes no sense at all and must be alien to everyone who thinks soberly in the context of this space and time. Let us look at Turkey, which has a population of 85 million, 95 percent of whom are Muslims, and still it is a secular country, and that secularism is consistently pursued. In B-H, there simply are no conditions whatsoever not only for the survival of an "Islamic state," but not even the basis for thinking reasonably about that.

[Zvizdic] Can you tell us something more about the number of Muslims in the Croatian army?

[Omerbasic] From what I know, there are quite a few of them, not only in the Croatian army, but also in the ranks of the police, and all of them, together with Croats,

are fighting for the freedom of Croatia. But how many there are is known only to the General Staff of the Croatian army! I know that there are quite a few officers and noncommissioned officers and commanders of Croatian units from among the ranks of the Muslims, who went over to the Croatian side from the ranks of the former Yugoslav Army.

[Zvizdic] Is it true that the Mesihat has received a number of requests from Muslims in the Croatian army seeking that they be allowed to hold religious services and receive a modified diet?

[Omerbasic] Yes, we have received such requests from units and have so informed the General Staff of the Croatian army. We have received assurances from the General Staff that there will be no problems with that, and the Muslims, just like the Catholics, have every right to their religious services while they are alive and in case of death, in the presence of the regional imams. And they will do what they can about the diet insofar as that is possible under wartime conditions. Wherever this has not yet been done, it must be done immediately in order to avoid misunderstandings in times which are difficult for both nationalities.

[Zvizdic] Is it true that the Croatian army even has separate Muslim units?

[Omerbasic] Yes, and I am against that, because I believe that Croatia is a community of nationalities, that the nationalities should be mixed even in the front lines of the defensive war. Separation of Muslims into separate Muslim units could have bad connotations, which we really do not need.

[Zvizdic] Some people accuse you of having attached yourself to the government in Croatia and placing yourself at its service.

[Omerbasic] In a democratic society, everyone can present his view of things, but how justified and to the point that is is another matter, there are those who even doubt my ethnic commitment as a Muslim, which is, of course, an ugly thing to say. I am a Muslim, but I do not conceive Islam as an obstacle, but rather as a motivation to gain better familiarity of others and to be a friend of others, precisely as it is stated in the Koran: "People! We have made you in different nations and tribes so that you will know each other better...." That is why I consider my involvement in this society as a contribution to my people and to the state of Croatia, but also to my original homeland—Bosnia-Hercegovina. I am not interested in serving in the government, and I voluntarily gave it up immediately after the election.

Montenegro

Commission Reports 96% Vote To Stay in Federation

LD0303141492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1316 GMT 3 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Titograd, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—In the Montenegro referendum, 287,382 people, or 66.04 percent of the electorate, voted. Out of that number, 267,076 people, that is, 95.94 percent of those who voted, voted in favor, and 8,957 voted against Montenegro remaining in a Yugoslav community. This has been revealed by the republican Election Commission. [passage omitted]

Titograders Vote City's Name Change to Podgorica

LD0203172492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1134 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Titograd, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The proposal that Titograd should be given back its old name—Podgorica—has been met with support from two-thirds of the Montenegrin capital's citizens who yesterday voted on this issue in a special referendum carried out simultaneously with a referendum on their republic's state and legal status. The municipal electoral commission announced today that 67,498 citizens had cast their votes which accounts for 66 percent of the electorate. Out of that number, 48,721 voters gave a positive reply to the referendum question: "Do you agree that Titograd should be given back its old name of Podgorica?"—while 17,667 voted against and 1,110 ballots were rendered null and void. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Bozovic Predicts 'Denouement' of Crisis

LD0303004492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2231 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Nis, March 2 (TANJUG)—Premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Radoman Bozovic assessed on Monday that Yugoslavia has entered a period of definitive denouement of its crisis, which is to provide the answer about the future of the state, its functions and who would live in it. Bozovic, on visit to Nis in eastern Serbia, stressed that the denouement of the Yugoslav crisis cannot be carried out at the expense of Serbia. "Serbia is today the most stable part of Yugoslavia and the time when Serbia served only to extract profit from it was definitely behind us," said he.

Bozovic said the two month period of his government was too short to aodpt a compehensive anti-inflation program and indicated "serious climate amendments to a number of laws and regulations to create a for carrying out a successful ownership and administrative transformation, attracting foreign capital and effecting peronnel changes in the economy

Socialist Party: UN Troops Essential for Bosnia

LD0203162292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1538 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Novi Sad, March 2 (TANJUG)—Blue Helmets are absolutely necessary in Bosnia-Hercegovina as the situation in this Yugoslav republic has become red-hot, said today Vice-President of Serbia's ruling Socialist Party (SPS) Bogdan Trifunovic. Trifunovic, addressing the party executive board for the Province of Vojvodina in Novi Sad, accused the leadership of the secessionist Republic of Croatia of endangering peace in the country by "different manoeuvres intended to prevent the arrival of U.N. peace forces." In Croatia, following the U.N. decision to send peace troops to crisis areas predominantly Serb-populated, armed incidents have been frequent with the two sides accusing each other of breaking the ceasefire agreed in Sarajevo on January 2.

Trifunovic stated that the world and Europe have realized that Serbia wants peace. He hoped that the E.C. economic sanctions of last November against Serbia would be lifted before long. But, he added, Serbia cannot be deprived of its right to protect Serbian people outside Serbia.

Serbian Renewal Demands Interior Minister Resign

LD0103105692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 29 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Feb (TANJUG)—"We demand the irrevocable and immediate resignation of the minister of internal affairs of Serbia and the head of the Belgrade Secretariat of the Ministry of Internal Affairs," the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) says in a statement issued today. Explaining the demand, the statement recalls yesterday's meeting between the representatives of the SPO and the Democratic Party with the leading officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia. According to the statement, the police refused to accept their constitutional obligation to ensure peaceful demonstrations announced for 9 March and publicly acknowledged that they were unable to safeguard peace and the security of citizens.

By admitting that they are incapable of ensuring public order and peace, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia acknowledges that Serbia is a lawless country and its leading officials thus recommend their own irrevocable resignation, the SPO states. The statement emphasizes: "The argument that the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia is powerless to prevent the Ustasha groups that will allegedly come to Belgrade on 9 March represents professional and moral capitulation as well as an act of national treason. If they are incapable of protecting Serbs in Belgrade, how can they protect them in Krajina?"

It is obvious that the authorities are scared about 9 March and that they are trying to frighten the citizens through the use of propaganda and terror not to join the demonstrations. The authorities are inventing the Ustasha, or they may be in collusion with them, the SPO statement says. It emphasizes: "We will gather in Belgrade on 9 March. We are now more resolute than ever. We will demonstrate peacefully with flowers and candles, and the present regime, and nobody else, will be responsible for any excesses."

South Serbia Albanians Hold Autonomy Referendum

AU0203211792 Zagreb Radio Croatia in Albanian 2130 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Sinan Kamberaj telephone report]

[Text] The Albanians' referendum for political and territorial autonomy with the right to unite with Kosovo began today in Presheve, Bujanovc, and Medvegje [Presevo, Bujanovac, Medvedja].

From the early morning hours, tens of thousands of voters went to the 71 polling stations in order to declare their views on their own future for the first time in the history of this area. Voting proceeded without great difficulty in Presheve and Bujanovc, although police observation was noticed. There were obstructions in Medvegje Commune, however. In the village of Sijarine, the Serbian police arrested Mehmet Veseli, chairman of the Electoral Commission, and Reis Bahtiu, commission member, but were unable to confiscate the ballots. Two voters in Topalle, Naim Ismaili and Ekrem Sadriu, were taken in for informal questioning.

According to the Central Electoral Commission, more than 90 percent of the 45,000 voters had performed their civic duty in these three communes by 1900.

As is well known, about 100,000 Albanians live in these three communes on a compact territory of 1,249 square kilometers, immediately adjacent to their common Albanian area. The demand of these Albanians for political and territorial autonomy is based on the EEC Brussels Declaration and the draft documents of the Conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague. The referendum expresses the free will for self-determination of the local Albanians, who have been subjected to unprecedented repression and intolerable discrimination by the Serbian regime for decades on end. The referendum was covered by about 50 journalists from various media. The Assembly for Political and Territorial Autonomy is receiving many letters and telegrams of greeting and support from Albanian political parties, associations, and individuals form all Albanian territories and the diaspora.

Thanks to its efficient organization, the referendum will probably end successfully. The results will be announced at a news conference in Presheve on 4 March. The Central Electoral Commission asks local commissions to take care to prevent the confiscation of ballots.

Vojvodina Magyars Call for Dialgue With Serbia

LD2802215392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Text] Subotica, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—The only way to resolve the demands of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Magyars [Demokratska Zajednica Vojvodjanskih Madjara—DZVM] is a dialogue with the government, but it is persistently rejecting this. Hence we will endeavour to attain our objectives by tolerance and persistence, while the international public is already acquainted with the demands and position of Magyars in Vojvodina, Andras Agoston, chairman of the DZVM, said at an open meeting last night in Subotica.

Replying to questions, Agoston stressed that the DZVM does not want secession but "we want to live with the Serbs." According to Agoston, secession is "an empty dream," because in Vojvodina, he said, only 17 percent (of the population) are Magyars. "The reality is that Vojvodina is in Serbia and we must respect this reality," Agoston said. The DZVM will continue to advocate participation in the Brussels peace conference, the chairman of this party said. Regarding the arrival of the blue helmets, Agoston said, "we have been waiting for them more than others, because we fear revenge by paramilitary formations." At the forum in Subotica it was also said that the DZVM has formed working groups which will examine every case of threats to Magyars.

Martic's Order on Disarming of Krajina Volunteers

92BA0552A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 92 p 10

[Article by M. Cetnik: "Knin Military-Political Mosaic: Martic Has Ordered the Disarming of Volunteers"—first paragraph is POLITIKA headline]

[Text] A proposal to organize a joint Krajina assembly; negotiating contacts again coming upon difficulties.

Knin, 19 February—Yesterday, 18 February, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina ordered the partial demobilization of the territorial defense of Krajina. The order, signed by Minister of Internal Affairs of Krajina Milan Martic and published today, reads as follows:

"Volunteers assigned to guard public facilities (Serbian Radio Knin and others) in units of the Knin Territorial Defense, despite positive legal regulations, are to leave this formation and to do so immediately. Members of volunteer units outside the area of the Republic of Serbian Krajina must report to the Ninth Knin Corps in order for it to be dispatched and assigned to military duty. On the other hand, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina considers these units illegitimate and will prevent the formation of double-parallel units in the Republic of Serbian Krajina. In the case of failure to carry out this order, all people in the status cited must leave the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina within eight hours of being informed of this order."

Resignations

In the second police announcement signed by the deputy minister of internal affairs of Krajina, Nikola Amanovic, the public was informed that a working meeting of the police chiefs of the 19 Krajina districts was held yesterday in Knin, at which it was concluded that the Krajina militia is successfully carrying out its missions and has remained homogeneous despite political upheaval. In the text of the announcement, the support of police directors was offered for the cited order by Martic and the readiness to consolidate legal order in Krajina was emphasized. The soonest possible formation of a joint Krajina assembly was proposed, and the sound cooperation with organs of the Republic of Serbia was emphasized.

Some workers organizations have also become involved in the unfortunate political situation that prevails in Knin. For example, the Council of the Association of the Trade Union of Krajina, after holding its yearly assembly, issued its report signed by trade union president Milinko Sandic.

The trade union extends its support to Serbia and the Serbian political leadership, with the comment that the Krajina trade union is a full member of the Association of Trade Unions of Serbia and that it will soon become a part of the Association of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia.

Workers of the Knin Screw Factory [TVIK], whose announcement was read on last night's Third Daily Journal on Serbian television, allegedly reported in a similar tone. However, a number of TVIK workers refused to work this morning, seeking an explanation as to who sent a public political message in their name. Factory Director Vlado Cvijanovic reported today that the business council of the factory issued the report.

The political uproar in Krajina also had its Gracac episode. At a meeting of the Assembly of Gracac district, the president of the District Executive Council, Dusan Vjestica, a close associate of Milan Babic, submitted his resignation. The resignation was preceded by a petition of 16 district committee members, who requested that Vjestica relinquish his post. Sinisa Mileusnic, vice president of Gracac district, also resigned; at the same time, he also left the position of delegate in the Krajina Assembly.

Preparations for Vukovar

Three Knin delegates in the Krajina Assembly also published a report with their views on the political disagreements in the Krajina Assembly. Nebojsa Mandinic, Djuro Kolundzija, and Tihomir Medic consider the calling and holding of meetings of the Krajina Assembly in Knin to be "absolutely worthless."

"We call for the acceleration of preparations for holding a joint Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, the Federal Autonomous Region of Western Slavonija, and the Federal Autonomous Region of Slavonija, Baranja, and Western Srem in Vukovar, in order to get down to work on the appointament of delegates to a new federal constitution-building assembly; this was initiated and approved in Glina on 16 February of this year," recommend the three delegates.

The Knin military-political mosaic also abounds in misunderstandings of another type. Negotiating contacts of the command of the Knin corps and the Croatian army have again fallen into difficulties. The exchange of prisoners in Hitnic near Drnis, scheduled for today, will not be held, as announced by the Information Service of the Knin Military Command, as a result of delays by the Croatian side. The maltreatment of prisoners located in the Kerestinec camp near Zagreb is cited in the military report as a possible reason. The physical condition of these men is considered by the command of the Knin Corps to be such that the Croatian authorities do not dare to show them to the public and members of the European community.

Revival of Socialist Economic Policy Questioned

92BA0545A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 92 pp 29-30

[Article by Zoran Jelicic: "Stone Age Revival"—first paragraph is VREME introduction]

[Text] What will be the price of Serbdom if the government revives state socialism as a solution to the current economic problems?

While Serbian economic officials are still wrestling with disobedient businessmen who are rejecting or postponing acceptance of the prices dictated to them by the republican prime minister, there are more and more analysts who are trying to figure out what the government has in store for businessmen and citizens.

Naturally, the central question is this: Is the creation of market mechanisms and an open economy imminent, which is what leading figures in the Serbian government are assuring foreign negotiating partners in particular; or will the inhabitants of Serbia revel in a liberated Serbdom to such an extent that they will exclusively drink Serbian mineral water, smoke Nis cigarettes in front of Nis television sets, and, in general, live free of the heavy burden caused by laboriously choosing goods based on quality, price, and other features?

For the sake of illustration, Dr. Miroljub Labus, a university professor and since recently the person in charge of the economic part of the Democratic Party's program, said in Wednesday's edition of BORBA that the latest moves by the government "basically constitute a buy-out of agreement and a test balloon for a future, general price freeze." Labus views the overall orientation of the Serbian government as follows: "This is a combination of a wartime economy and of a return to state socialism. I do not know what government officials are aware of, but I do know that they are pursuing a short-term policy and have been doing so for several years. The essence of their orientation is that the social sector dominates the economy, with the private sector somewhere on the margin. This is a policy that obstructs all liberalization—including free trade in foreign exchange and goods—a policy of strong customs protection and of high taxes. This is a directed economy that is taking us back to a barter system and that completely excludes a market economy."

Threat of Old System

It stands to reason that this and similar assessments are not based exclusively, or even primarily, on last week's regulation of certain prices and partial control over wages. Even without those moves, there are clear indications that the inhabitants of Serbia will be enjoying all the benefits of a strictly controlled state economy. The main signals of this sort are currently coming from the government's hurried work on the level of a law to set quotas for economic life, and from the fact that Serbia is waging a trade war with Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia.

As far as new economic regulations are concerned, it must be emphasized that the government ministries have made an all-out effort to and have largely succeeded in keeping everything a secret until it arrives at the republican Assembly. Nevertheless, some of it has leaked out, and of that the biggest surprise to Belgrade business circles has been the announcement of the return to a state monopoly in foreign trade. Not all the mechanisms—direct or indirect—have been disclosed, but it is known that private companies will be hardest hit and that, viewed on the whole, with this sort of freedom in foreign trade dealings, it cannot be called an open market economy.

A hint at daily output can be provided by data from the Federal Institute of Statistics (although the data relate to Yugoslavia, there is no reason to believe that there is an expressly different trend in Serbia): At the end of 1990, there were around 39,000 private companies, whereby the largest share was in the area of trade, with approximately 25,000 companies. Six months later, which is where there cease to be Yugoslav data, the number of private companies had grown to nearly 61,000, while those in trade had surpassed 37,000. All the data should be taken only as an indication, since the statistics did not separate private foreign-trade companies from those operating exclusively on the domestic market, but this does not alter the basic picture of the blow that would be sustained by monopolizing foreign trade—beginning with capital investments and employees, and including the confidence of business people in the government.

The second part of the regulations that points to the government's decision in favor of a planned economy

relates to the social sphere and to the status of the public sector of the economy. In the first case, in the opinion of experts, the draft laws are such that they must be fundamentally changed, because they uphold the erroneous notion that the crisis can be overcome almost painlessly in terms of standard of living. On the other hand, the public sector of the Serbian economy (from the electrical industry to television) accounts for one-fifth of the economy according to the majority of parameters, and is thus one of the most powerful levers for pursuing economic policy. If the Serbian government is committed to a genuine policy of stabilization and to the creation of a market economy, public sector thrift would help in the same way that it has helped and does help elsewhere in the world: by allowing the private sector to do business in those areas, through identical treatment of the state and private sectors on the financial market, etc. However, no such moves are in sight. All indications point to the creation of new monopolies that their creator, the state, will periodically pull by the ears in order to console its subjects.

Word of Science

But for a reliable and final assessment of what should be worrisome in the upcoming period, one must wait for official disclosure of the proposed economic regulations. In the meantime, the appearance of two groups of economists on the Serbian scene is attracting attention.

First, the Serbian government created its Economic Council. Its leadership was entrusted to the respected retired professor Dr. Ivan Maksimovic. Academician Maksimovic says that the members of the Economic Council will work on creating a strategy for the Serbian economy, meaning that they will not be involved in current economic policy. The emergence and the future work of the Council are generating interest in expert circles, among other reasons because the outline of the team is made up of political economists of many years' standing who are now accepting a challenge by entering into other areas of the economy as well.

At almost the same time, the Belgrade Economic Institute completed a project entitled "Transition of the Economy of Serbia" (the director is Prof. Dr. Pavle Petrovic). It is striking that this team included Prof. Dr. Oskar Kovac, who spent a fair amount of time on the stabilization commission of the Serbian Presidency, attempting, together with the late Zoran Pjanic, to cut through ideas about the structure of the economy that were personified on that commission by academician Kosta Mihajlovic.

Writing succinctly and not claiming to present a complete study, the authors offer a foundation both for the government's legislative work and for choosing measures of economic policy. The summary, which is also the initial paragraph, says the following: The Serbian economy is at a crossroads from which it must turn towards the market model with private ownership, competition, and entrepreneurial initiative, or, very quickly, towards a planned economy based on state ownership and the obligation that top priority be given to solving social problems.

The authors place primary emphasis on two serious additional problems, in spite of which a market economy should be created. They are the disintegration of the Yugoslav market (for example, Serbian trade with Slovenia and Croatia was greater than the share of foreign trade in the Serbian economy) and encroaching hyperinflation. The existence of political will is a precondition for eliminating both aggravating circumstances. In the first case, the damage is felt mutually, meaning that the benefits of restoring business transactions would also be felt mutally, while the authors of the study do not envision a successful anti-inflationary policy without a decision to keep prime-issue currency firmly under control and to achieve the elimination of existing deficits on a sound basis.

In other words: "The causes of hyperinflation are budget deficits, on various levels, which are covered by issuing money. Thus, the basic question is whether there is a willingness by (economic) policy to face up to deficits and to restrict them on a sound basis. Indications are pointing in the opposition direction. In this case, it is most likely that the response to hyperinflation will be price controls, which result in stifled hyperinflation. Economists agree that inflation is bad, hyperinflation is worse, but that stifled hyperinflation is worst of all. It is a world of shortages and rationing, with gray and black markets. The incentives and signals in such a system direct economic subjects towards devoting their energy to exploiting deformities in all markets instead of towards rational business dealings. The role of the state in the economy becomes critical."

But also the responsibility. And the state today has a clearer first and last name than it used to.

Slovenia

Serbian Move To Nationalize Enterprises Protested

LD0103123592 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Text] The Chamber of Economy of Slovenia has demanded the annulment of the provision adopted by the Serbian Government on 19 February according to which branches of Slovenian enterprises in Serbia must organize themselves as publicly owned enterprises. In the Slovene Chamber of Economy's opinion this provision means total nationalization of Slovenian property, which is incompatible with the legislation in Serbia concerning business enterprises and all legal principles valid in the world. This is a provision by which Serbia is trying to gain the advantage in the division of property of the former Yugoslavia.

Since the present judicial practice in Serbia shows that there are no effective legal means to protect Slovene property, the Chamber of Economy of Slovenia has proposed that the Slovene Government demand that the Serbian Government annul the said provision and inform Lord Carrington, chairman of the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia. The Slovene Chamber of Economy has requested that the Serbian Chamber of Economy propose that the Serbian Government annul this provision. The Serbian provision was also firmly denounced by the Slovene Government. The Slovene Foreign Ministry has sent a protest note in this connection to all former Yugoslav republics and to Lord Carrington.

Liberal Democrats Not Joining Peterle Government

LD0303102292 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 2 MAR 92

[Text] Within the framework of efforts to resolve the government crisis, Prime Minister Lojze Peterle held separate meetings today with Jozef Skoljc, president of the Liberal Democratic Party, and Viktor Zakelj, president of the Socialist Party.

The Liberal Democratic Party representatives expressed support for the idea of starting the procedure to adopt a new law on the reorganization of the state administration before the elections. As they expect the elections to be held in June this year, the Liberal Democratic Party representatives declined their participation in the present government.

The talks with the Socialists were also unsuccessful. Viktor Zakelj, party president, said that they declined to participate in a government in which they will be unable to carry out their program aims. Their views on the solution to key questions in the country differ from the stands held by those who support the present government.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Bulgaria

LD2902215392 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Text] A cooperation agreement has been signed in the Chamber of Economy in Ljubljana between the Slovene and Bulgarian Chambers of Economy. Feri Horvat, president of the Slovene Chamber of Economy, said that cooperation between the two countries was at an initial stage and that the purpose of this agreement was to acquaint the two bodies with economic trends and with supply and demand. Last year, the trade between the two countries was valued at 20 million dollars.

'Period of Normality' in Relations With Italy

92BA0541A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 15 Feb 92 p 24

[Article by Mojca Drcar-Murko: "Neighbors, Friends, Competitors"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] The long, fatiguing road to international diplomatic recognition of our independence and the great hopes that were tied to it are the reasons for occasional surprise in Slovenia that relations with the states that recognized us did not flourish immediately, and also for stricken wondering about whether someone among those carrying out foreign policy made mistakes.

In connection with Italy, such questions arose because of Slovenia's missing signature on the memorandum on regulating the position of the Italian minority in Croatia and Slovenia. Are relations with Italy consequently bad, and are they bad because of this?

For the opening paragraph of an answer, I would choose Italian Foreign Ministry Gianni De Michelis at the press conference after the memorandum was signed in Rome by Italy and Croatia. Of course, he had reasons for speaking in an extremely conciliatory manner about Slovenia, which was absent, and thus spoiled the ceremony—because of pressures in Trieste, he had to take back his promises about the "equality of criteria" for minority regulation and also forget about an agreement in Ljubljana—but he was probably right when he spoke about the "preelection sensitivity on both sides." Such a situation is normal for Italy, and it is known that a period of electoral extortions has begun (nationalistic ones are still being considerably prolonged), in which it is difficult to conduct a foreign policy that is objective and purged of bias. It is a relatively new phenomenon for us, and the public perhaps still imagines that unity prevails among the coalition partners with respect to the means of realizing ideal national goals abroad. No, it does not prevail, either in Italy or in Slovenia.

Nevertheless, even without the sensitivity of the election period, we could say that relations between Slovenia and Italy have entered a period of normality. Freed from the characteristics of an ideological nature that affected relations between Italy and Slovenia within the framework of Yugoslavia, those relations are now just the traditional intergovernmental relations between neighboring states with a turbulent history, with minorities and with numerous mutual bad memories, and on the other hand, with extensive areas of common interests. These common interests are particularly in the complementary nature of the needs of both states. Slovenia needs all the assistance and efforts that Italy can provide in the diplomatic area to clear the way for us to join international institutions of European and world significance, and Italy is seeking a bridge to expand into Central and East Europe; Italy is functioning in the territories of the former Yugoslavia and the rest of the former East Europe as a potential regional power, which is in competition with similar ambitions on the part of Germany; Slovenia has to make use of the advantages of its geographic position as a crossroads of routes and interests; Italy is functioning as a possessor of capital, and Slovenia is seeking it for technological restructuring of the industrial base that has been neglected in this respect for the past decade.

The ideal situation that could follow on paper from such considerably complementary medium- and long-term state interests is blocked not only by events and actions in the past, but also by the undisputed fact that other states are also around us. Italy did not delay in recognizing Slovenia just because of doubts about it, but also because it wanted to preserve its influence and protect its interests in other parts of Yugoslavia as well. This goal did not change after the recognition of Slovenia. "Italy did not align itself with either side in the conflict, and it is prepared to cooperate with everyone, not just with friendly Slovenia," Foreign Minister De Michelis stated last Saturday at the "Adriatic Initiative" conference in Venice. Viewed from Italy's side, it is not enough for settling the Balkan question that certain peoples have realized their legitimate aspirations for sovereignty and independence, he added; this logical and natural search for a new balance increases the competition among those who are counting on Italian diplomatic and economic interest, just as Italy also has to count on competition.

There can be no doubt about Italy's willingness to put intergovernmental relations with Slovenia on a level of mutual benefit and even "friendship," as De Michelis defined those relations, during the final phase of the international struggle for recognition and after it. Italy has normalized banking transactions with Slovenia; the institution for insuring credits for Italian exports (SACE) has approved coverage of short-term loans (just for Slovenia!); its representative, at the above-mentioned conference in Venice, promised to "insure medium- and long-term loans in the coming days." There has been a meeting of a joint commission that has the task of analyzing and proposing specific solutions for normalizing economic relations. On behalf of his country, the foreign minister expressed the hope that "conditions in which Italy would be able to come to the aid of Slovenia (and Croatia) in emerging from the economic difficulties they were facing would arise as soon as possible."

Two new laws also demonstrate Italy's will to take advantage of the possibilities offered it in the territory east of its borders. In addition to the law on the border areas, which is based on the logic of abundant special assistance to the border provinces to make it easier for them to establish ties with areas on the other side of the border, and which also allocates funds for both minorities, the Italian Parliament, just before its early dissolution, also passed another law that was the product of political and economic considerations during the preceding period about the establishment of new states in Central and East Europe. Relatively large amounts (900 billion lire, or 1.2 billion marks, in three years) have been allocated for various forms of Italian penetration of the markets of these states, with coordination of the ministries' work and within the framework of the long-term policy of the EC and international financial institutions. On the other hand, whether the projects are interesting and whether the offers are persuasive will depend on where the money goes. To put it more clearly, when a political framework has been established, the criteria used for supporting individual projects will be based primarily on their economic justification. In this respect Slovenia's prospects are not bad: its closeness, the industrial mentality of the competent labor force, which is furthermore relatively cheap in comparison with Italy's, its network of previous relations, and the fact that even in the past Slovene enterprises lived in principle in a market (social) economy, as well as Slovenia's familiarity with the markets in the rest of the Balkans and in the East, are elements in a certain importance and "value" for Slovenia.

The Italian side's very pragmatic acceptance of the fact that Slovenia did not sign the memorandum on the Italian minority, but has committed itself to observe it, is demonstrated by Prime Minister Lojze Peterle's recent talks with Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti in Rome. Although an observer cannot completely get rid of the impression that this working visit was part of mutual campaign assistance by the two Christian Democratic politicians, the conciliatory tone of the talks on the minorities—time is needed to settle the issue, or, in other words, the elections have to be over—said something about both countries' desire not to strain relations in an unproductive area. One could not conclude either from this meeting or from the meeting between Presidents Kucan and Cossiga that the missing Slovene signature on the memorandum is an obstacle to the development and strengthening of intergovernmental relations between Slovenia and Italy, even though, according to numerous standards, it could have been said that Italy would try to take advantage of Slovenia's weaker position and "retaliate."

The fact that this did not happen could even be partly considered proof that the Slovene decision (not to sign it, but to indicate willingness to observe the contents of the memorandum) was correct. In view of the fact that Italy—as already stated, because of powerful pressure from the border areas—rejected the possibility of regulating the position of both minorities on the basis of equal criteria, and Slovenia tried to impose its own course when it was in the most vulnerable and awkward position (seeking international recognition), the new state had to refuse to sign it, for the sake of an equal beginning, if not for the sake of the disputed cause itself. This was all the more logical because Italy was not interested in its own minority until a short while ago and consequently acted very pragmatically; when the time came when it was possible to take it as an instrument of intergovernmental policy, it "discovered" the minority. This is not a criticism; the altered situation—the "ideological correction" that has taken place in intergovernmental relations helped to reveal new elements, through which mutual interests can be satisfied in the process of intergovernmental "dealing" (presenting maximal demands, in order to gain at least minimal ones in the end).

Consequently, intergovernmental relations between Slovenia and Italy, just like Slovene relations with other countries, will have shadowed areas and shadowed

periods. It is important, however, to note the mutual long-term need for cooperation, which helps, both as a goal and a method, to solve the problems that appear—as in all "normal" intergovernmental relations, by the way.

'Seriousness' of Unemployment Problem Viewed

92BA0514B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
7 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by Jelana Gacesa: "Extent of Unemployment Depends Upon Resolving Illiquidity"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] There will be 140,000 unemployed by the end of the year; the seriousness of the problem is indicated by the ratio between the number of people seeking employment and the active population; the scheduling of public works has met with a relatively good response; the self-employed were the only ones to increase their relative proportion among the active work force.

Ljubljana, 6 Feb—Unemployment is becoming an increasingly larger problem in our state. Between the years 1988 and 1991, it increased about 3.7 times. The average number of unemployed in 1988 was 21,342, and last year it was 75,079. On 31 December 1991 there were 91,161 unemployed. For several reasons, it will not yet be possible to curb the growth of unemployment this year. A great deal will depend in particular upon how much foreign capital we succeed in attracting. We were told at the Republic Employment Institute that they have achieved significant successes with programs for limiting unemployment and social injustices.

The absolute numbers concerning those seeking employment do not tell the whole story. The actual seriousness of the problem is shown only by the relative unemployment rate as the ratio between the number of people seeking employment and the active population, according to Sonja Pirher, the chief of analysis at the Employment Institute. The active population includes the employed, the self-employed, and the unemployed. Self-employed individuals are those who for various reasons are performing independent activities and paying taxes on that basis (independent cultural workers, independent journalists, clergymen, and others). According to all international classifications, the unemployed are included in the active population, since this is a group of people who would like to work and are prepared to do so. Inactive residents are those who are not employed and are not seeking employment (housewives, students, pupils, retirees, seriously handicapped individuals, and others incapable of work who are older than 15). In the West, this group also includes rentiers, of whom there will be more and more in our country; they live on profits from stocks, interest, rental income, and other sources.

The first figure indicates that since 1988, the proportion of the active population in the total population has been declining. From 1988 to August 1991, the proportion of active individuals declined from 48 to 46 percent of the total population. A deterioration of the ratios within the active population is also occurring because of the decline in the number of people employed and the increase in the number of people unemployed. In 1988, the proportion of the employed in the social and private sectors was about 88 percent, and the proportion of the unemployed was 2 percent. As of last August, the proportion of the former in this structure was 8 percent lower, while the proportion of the unemployed was 6 percent higher. The only category that increased its proportion among the active population during this period was the self-employed (from 9 to almost 11 percent).

Structure of the Active Population, August 1991 (in percent)

Workers in the economy	62.8
Unemployed	8.6
Employed by tradesmen	3.6
Workers in the noneconomic sector	14.1
Self-employed	10.9
Of those:	
Private businessmen/ tradesmen	36.8
Farmers	56.0
Independent Professionals	6.9

Size of the active population in August 1991: 909,849, or 46 percent of the total Slovene population.

It follows from the comparisons cited that in recent years the problem of unemployment has already become much worse, and not just because of the high unemployment rate, but also primarily because of its rapid increase in a relatively short time. The rapid growth is best shown by the absolute numbers concerning the number of those seeking employment, shown in figure 2. In 1989, the growth of unemployment was still moderate. The transition from moderate to rapid growth occurred in 1990, when workers were dismissed on a more widespread scale because of bankruptcies. The previously negligible number of those left without work kept increasing precipitously until the end of last June, when a moratorium on bankruptcies was adopted. That moratorium artificially halted this flow, since according to the data cited by the SDK [Public Auditing Service], during the period from July to December 1991 it would have had to file notice of bankruptcy proceedings against 373 enterprises with about 65,000 employees if the moratorium on bankruptcies had not been adopted.

With the introduction of the new bankruptcy law, some of these workers will certainly join the unemployed, but it is not possible to estimate reliably how many of them there will actually be, according to Sonja Pirher. At any rate, two directly linked big problems appear: illiquidity and unemployment. The extent of the latter will depend on how the former is resolved.

In a situation in which legal and other measures for straightening out the current unfavorable economic situation are still not completely clear (resolving the issues of illiquidity, establishing payment processes with the republics of the former Yugoslavia and with the world, bankruptcy policy, etc.), and in which Slovenia's political position is still uncertain (its diplomatic recognition, the attitude of international financial institutions and foreign capital in general toward investments in our economy, etc.), it is extremely risky to predict the extent of unemployment. We estimate that it will continue to grow this year, and at the end of the year should be about 140,000 people seeking employment, according to Sonja Pirher.

The Employment Institute has prepared several programs for an active employment policy. As part of a campaign for 1,000 new jobs, it has subsidized over 4,000 jobs. The subsidy amounted to 60,000 dinars, and 100,000 tolars last December. It has been received by employers who hired an unemployed person, or workers who were considered permanently excess, for an indefinite period. The next measure they undertook was cofinancing probationary employment, we were told by Samo Hribar, the chief of employment at the Institute. Within the framework of this program, over 7,000 probationers were subsidized throughout Slovenia, i.e., 35 percent of the population of young people between education levels 4 and 7.

About 2,000 unemployed people have been counseled on how to become self-employed. As part of this, unemployed people were trained last year to become entrepreneurs, independent tradesmen, etc. About 200 of them are self-employed.

The next measure that was introduced was the capitalization of monetary compensation. Unemployed people who have a right to monetary compensation and are self-employed (like entrepreneurs, tradesmen, etc.) can obtain the monetary compensation in a lump sum (this is in so-called capitalization), if they invest the funds to develop their own enterprise or shop.

Last year they also began to schedule public works. The response was relatively favorable, since the campaign was supported by more than 85 percent of the opstina councils. About 1,000 unemployed people participated in the various public works programs, which is a relatively good response, in view of the fact that it is a new program that was only started in midyear, and that not everyone was favorably inclined toward it in the beginning. The unemployed were usually involved in social programs (child care, care for the aged, assistance to the socially endangered) and in various municipal programs (cleaning up the environment, maintaining the infrastructure, and eliminating the consequences of natural damage). The unemployed were also trained in this programs, and were thus further trained for later competition in the labor market.

Within the framework of programs for improving what the work force had to offer, various programs were carried out through which an attempt was made to complete the training of the unemployed and excess workers for work at a higher skill level. As part of these programs, 15,000 excess workers were retrained or received further training so that they would not lose their jobs. About 6,000 unemployed participated in various programs for retraining and additional training.